

**CHANGING REGIMES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
EDUCATION IN CAMEROON 1886-1966,  
(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE BASEL MISSION).**

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## ABSTRACT

Education in contemporary Cameroon consists of two distinct unreformed systems inherited from colonial regimes which are unsuitable for modern Cameroon. Western Education was introduced in 1844 by the British Baptist Missionary Society and encouraged by colonial regimes (Germans 1884-1916, British and French 1916-1961). Since independence (1961), the failure to restructure education to reflect common national values has been identified by analysts with its colonial origins. Yet the different systems (Missions and colonial) had varying impacts and the inter-relationships between each system and Cameroonians differed. This study therefore examines whether the impact of the respective colonial and Missionary education systems alone can explain the present stalemate in Cameroon education or other factors are accountable. It assesses the role and motives of colonial regimes, Missions and Cameroonians in education and examines the impact of the different motives and inter-relationships on post-colonial attitudes to education.

The central argument is that the current reform impasse cannot be explained by a single factor. The respective colonial and Mission education systems and the reactions of Cameroonians were examined chronologically, using mostly primary sources. It was found that the Germans and the British were liberal to Missions as against a stronger French control. The Germans' desire for a protestant Mission together with the British tolerance to foreign Missionary societies, sustained the Basel Mission. Cameroonian interests and attitudes also influenced the pattern of education. Finally, the constraints of global economic and political forces have reinforced the deadlock on institutional reforms. Thus the impact of the respective educational legacies and the perceptions and reactions of Cameroonians at different stages of educational growth are found to have combined with the socio-economic and political developments since independence to explain the stalemate.

To attain educational change, this study recommends the importance of creating awareness among teachers and parents and the wider public on the need for reform. It also suggests that further research be conducted on pre-colonial attitudes to education and on Cameroon cultures to identify indigenous educational ideas with relevance to modern education as well as those traditional values that can enrich the educational system, and eventually generate common national and international interests.

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PPA	Provincial Pedagogic Adviser
PSS	Presbyterian Secondary School
PWD	Public Works Department
RCM	Roman Catholic Mission
RTC	Rural Training Centre
SEP	Société Évangélique Protestant
SJC	Saint Joseph's College
SJC	Sacerdotes Cordis Jesu
SPEP	Support to Primary Education Project
TTC	Teachers Training Centre /College
UAC	United African Company
UDEAC	Union Economique et Douanière de l' Afrique Centrale
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNO	United Nations Organisation
UPC	Union des Populations du Cameroun
WAEC	West African Examination Council
WTTC	Women Teachers Training Centre

## ABBREVIATIONS

ACEC	Advisory Committee for Education in the Colonies
AEF	Afrique Equatoriale Française
AOF	Afrique Occidentale Française
BEAC	Banque Centrale des Etats de l' Afrique Centrale.
BEPC	Brêvet d' Etudes du Premier Cycle
BM	Basel Mission
BMS	Baptist Missionary Society
CAIP	Certificat d' Aptitude aux fonctions d'Inspecteur de l'enseignement Premiere.
CAP	Certificat d' Aptitude Professionnelle
CBMS	Conference of British Missionary Societies
CCAST	Cameroon College of Arts, Science and Technology
CDC	Cameroon Development Corporation
CDCWU	Cameroon Development Corporation Workers Union
CEPE	Certificat d' Etudes Premieres Elementaires
CGCE	Cameroon General Certificate of Education
CNF	Cameroon National Federation
CPC	Cameroon Protestant College
CWU	Cameroon Welfare Union
CYL	Cameroon Youth League
GCE	General Certificate of Education
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
GTC	Government Trade Centre
GTTC	Government Teachers Training Centre
IMC	International Missionary Council
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPAR	Institut de Pédagogie Appliquée à Vocation Rurale
KENU	Kamerun Ex-servicemen National Union
KUNC	Kamerun United National Congress
NA	Native Authority / Administration
NCNC	National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon
OCAM	Organisation of Central African and Malagasy States
PCA	Presbyterian Church Archive.
PCC	Presbyterian Church in Cameroon

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Educational reform in contemporary Cameroon has failed to develop desirable attitudes upon which a progressive nation-state can be built. The failure to structure education to respond to national goals has encouraged the perpetuation of the inherited colonial education systems which are culturally and economically unsuitable and which have remained largely unchanged. The failure to reform education has affected not just the peoples' attitudes to economic survival but has had significant ramifications for the consolidation of national integration and the development of national identity.

Western education, which was introduced in Cameroon in 1844 by the British Baptist Missionary Society (B.M.S.), was strengthened during the colonial period by a joint effort of colonial Governments and Missionary societies. Different colonial Governments and Missionary societies applied diverse approaches to the development of education as a result of divergent attitudes and perceptions to education. The confusion introduced by these conflicting approaches imbued Cameroonians with attitudes that today hamper efforts to re-structure Cameroon education. Since independence, some African Governments, such as Tanzania (1967), Nigeria (1985) and Kenya (1985) have attempted to reform (*Africanise*) their educational systems to suit national demands by adapting education to African conditions. But others such as Cameroon have failed to adapt the educational systems, despite some cosmetic changes.

In Cameroon, two distinct educational systems inherited from the French and the British colonial regimes still survive, despite several attempts to unify and harmonise them into a single system responsive to national needs. There are also internal difficulties in attempts to make the respective inherited systems more responsive to Cameroon needs. In 1962 and 1963, laws were passed reorganising the educational systems. But these laws were never implemented. A series of seminars on the reform of education were also held. The first in March 1973, focused on primary education. It was sponsored by UNESCO and other multilateral and bilateral funding agencies. The second was in December 1974, involving a one week session of the Council for Higher Education and Scientific and Technical Research. The third was in April 1977.



The objective of the reform was to apply the notions of "functionalism" and "practicality" to the whole educational system and therefore adapt education to the economic or production system of the nation. The reform aimed to harmonise the two inherited systems of education; to replace a less profitable literary aspect of education with practical content adaptable to the Cameroonian milieu; and to evolve an educational system that would enhance the acquisition of skills to ensure the possibility for students to earn an independent livelihood rather than wait for state employment.

It would appear that the proposals were made without considering the inter-relationship between education and the socio-political atmosphere. It may not have been considered that educational reform was ultimately an integral part of the political, economic and socio-cultural change and could only be reformed alongside other national institutions. The complexity of the issues involving the lack of appropriate textbooks, difficulties of training suitable teachers, the prevalence of poor school structures and equipment and the difficulties of eventually preparing teaching texts in the official languages were seemingly underrated. The need to set up a machinery for constant formative and summative evaluation of the curriculum in terms of objectives, learning experiences, operational processes and outcomes was not given enough attention. Added to these concerns is the crucial problem of no local libraries. Where libraries exist, they are poorly organized and suffer from the lack of sponsorship. The attempts by politicians, often ill-informed, to control issues like the siting of schools so as to appear as benefactors exacerbate the problems of reform.

These problems have rendered all attempts to achieve reforms almost unattainable. The author of this study personally participated in some of the reform attempts at the level of the ministry and witnessed the repeated resistance mounted by teachers, parents and students to changes to the curriculum and educational structures. This research was particularly prompted by the rejection of a proposed curriculum for Cameroonian and African history in 1983, in which he played an active role. The curriculum for English and European history, which is still maintained, was preferred to the proposed curriculum reflecting Cameroonian and African background. The history curriculum was rejected alongside a reform project changing a single subject certificate Cameroon General Certificate of Examination (G.C.E.), as it was inherited from London to a group certificate examination. Similarly, there has also been resistance to changes in the inherited French

education system. The *Probatoire* examination at the end of the sixth year of secondary education, which has already been scrapped in France and other places, is still maintained in Cameroon despite attempts made at the ministry to remove it.

The resistance to change has been associated with a number of factors related to Cameroon's colonial past even though Cameroon has been independent for over three decades. The French and British colonial control only lasted for four decades and could not have so overwhelmingly affected the people's attitudes. Additionally, the overall strategy of colonial administration (especially under the British) was peripheral as a result of the League of Nations mandate and the United Nations trusteeship status of the territory. The colonial impact in Cameroon was therefore negligible when compared to other African states. The question therefore is to understand why the people are so resistant to change.

There had been a period of German colonial rule (1884 - 1916) prior to the French and British regimes (1916-1961) which might have affected the attitudes of Cameroonians despite its brief duration. The impact of the three colonial regimes on all institutions must have been significant. Yet educational reforms are unavoidably inseparable from the political restructuring, which has also remained unattainable, both in its ideological underpinnings and practical applications since the re-unification of the former British and French administered territories. Thus attempts to reform education in isolation from the other institutions of state can hardly be effective.

Furthermore, under all the colonial regimes, education was provided largely by Christian Missions that were sometimes neither of German, French nor British origins; and were at times treated with suspicion by the colonial authorities. The relationship between the Government and the Missions also varied from one regime to the other and influenced the attitudes and values of those who were exposed to the various systems.

However, some pre-colonial people in Cameroon had manifested strong desire for western education that might have caused them to welcome and internalize the values disseminated by colonial and Missionary education. This factor has not been adequately examined. The question is whether Africans do have inherent motives that influence their relations with the outside world. Bala Usman suggested that pre-colonial African history

might enhance an understanding of contemporary African problems.<sup>1</sup> Exemplifying this approach in his study of pre-colonial Katsina, Bala criticized the slave institutions, categorising them in their different functions with a view to show that part of the present predicaments characterised by class structures in contemporary Africa are legacies of pre-colonial leadership and oppression.<sup>2</sup> From this strategy, weaknesses and incompetencies of the pre-colonial societies can be identified in order to enhance the possibilities of recognizing such forces in the contemporary scene.

Bala Usman's views have however been countered by Julius Nyerere who blames colonial education for the contemporary African educational problems.<sup>3</sup> Nyerere argues that colonial education was not designed to prepare Africans for service to their own country; but that it was motivated by a desire to inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state. He therefore sees colonial education as having been modelled after that of the metropolis with encouragement of individualistic instincts valued in Western societies instead of the co-operative instincts that characterise African traditional societies.

Nyerere contends that colonial education led to the notion that the possession of individual material wealth had to be the criterion of social worth and that this view inevitably encouraged attitudes of human inequality. By implication, Nyerere's suggestion was that colonial education introduced the domination of the weak by the strong, particularly in economic practices. Consequently, colonial education was not meant to transmit the values and knowledge of the African society from one generation to the next as it ought to do, but replaced traditional values and knowledge patterns. In other words colonial education was a deliberate strategy aimed at turning the colonial society into an efficient adjunct to the governing power. And even when the policies failed to achieve these aims, the influence on the attitudes, ideas and knowledge of the people who

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<sup>1</sup>Usman Y.B., *For the Liberation of Nigeria: essays and lectures 1969-1978*, Sokoto., Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1980., p. 34.

<sup>2</sup>Usman Y.B., *The Transformation of Katsina, (1400-1883): the emergence and overthrow of the Sarauta system and the establishment of the emirate.*, Sokoto., Ahmadu Bello University Press., 1981. pp.16-35.

<sup>3</sup>Nyerere J., "Education in Tanzania" in *Education in Africa: A Comparative Survey.*' (eds) Fafunwa A.B. and Aisiku J. U., London, Allen and Unwin., 1982.

experienced it remained significant. Nyerere's contention about the failure of colonial education to transmit the traditional knowledge, skills, and values might be true, but Bala's study illustrates that the pre-colonial African society was not free of human inequality or the domination of the weak by the strong.

The post-colonial period has also been influenced by a range of international relations which has affected Cameroon's socio-economic and cultural development and therefore reduced the desire for change towards a more national outlook. These include post-colonial relations with the former colonial rulers, interactions with other states and relations with international organisations which have strengthened a more dependent attitude. These relationships and interactions have contributed to influence both personal and Government attitudes in the post-colonial period.

This study therefore seeks to examine the development of Cameroonian attitudes to education during the colonial and post-colonial periods in order to understand their contemporary stance. To attain this objective, the study examines the reactions of Cameroonians to the educational policies of the respective colonial regimes, Missionary societies and post-colonial Cameroonian Government. The study also seeks to analyse the roles played by the respective colonial regimes, Missionary societies and the people of Cameroon in developing education policies. Finally, other factors that might have added to the problem of institutional reform are also considered.

The central question in the study is whether the current stalemate in attempts to reform education in Cameroon can be attributed mainly to the country's unique colonial legacy and post-colonial developments or whether other factors are significant? It is assumed that by examining the respective educational legacies, the impact of colonialism on the current educational problems will be illuminated. It is also anticipated that further evidence revealing attitudes to education would be discerned by analysing the reactions of Cameroon people at different stages of educational development. The over-centralized administration in post-colonial Cameroon which has ignored teachers, parents and even the general public in considering reforms is also seen as an important factor to explain resistance to reforms.

The traditional human resistance to change is another possible explanation to the opposition to educational re-structuring. Educational reform is more about people than it is about institutions and most people (not only educators) tend to change slowly in their beliefs and ways of doing things even in response to new national demands.

The study is based on a historical investigation of colonial and post-colonial education and focused on the following questions in chronological order:

What was the impact of the German, French and British colonial regimes on education in Cameroon? And what were the effects of the differences in the respective colonial education policies on Cameroonians?

What were the relationships of the Missionary societies with the colonial regimes and the Cameroon people and what was the impact on the education they provided?

What were the reactions of Cameroonians to the colonial and Missionary education and what were the immediate and long term effects on education?

### **Historiography.**

Analysts who have examined the general colonial situation attributed the weaknesses of African education to colonialism. Amongst them was Fanon, who although psycho-analytical in approach, attributed the colonial situation to economic determinism.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile others, such as Memmi, emphasized the role of political determinism.<sup>5</sup> To both schools of thought, colonialism was the subjective translation of the political forces at work in European society at large. Both emphasized the universality of the educational mechanisms by which the economically or politically dominant groups of the colonizing society generalized their power on the colonial stage. They both criticised the colonial regimes for minimizing the cultural traditions of Africans in their acceptance or their

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<sup>4</sup>Fanon F., *The Wretched of the Earth.*, translated by Constance Farrington, Paris, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967. Also see Fanon F, *Towards the African Revolution*, New York., translated by Haakan Chevalier., Monthly Review Press., 1967.

<sup>5</sup>Memmi A., *Portrait du Colonisateur et du Colonisé*, Paris, Souvenir Press., 1974.

rejection of the experiences attached to colonial educational systems. Similarly, Carnoy,<sup>6</sup> and Mamouni<sup>7</sup> attacked all forms of colonialism for their impact on educational development. Missionaries were also accused of being the lackeys of imperialism.<sup>8</sup>

Another concept used in examining the colonial situation was the psychological theory used by Mannoni.<sup>9</sup> While agreeing with Fanon and Memmi that colonization was the result of certain processes of economic and political development, Mannoni argued that psychological factors were stronger in their effects. To him the social arrangements prevailing in the colonial society were such that they induced types of child training practice which fostered personalities characterized by marked feelings of dependency and inferiority. He saw psychological determinism therefore as having been significant in developing the attitudes of the colonized and considered that colonial rebellions were not a genuine search for independence but rather alternative quests for new settings of dependence.<sup>10</sup> Mannoni suggested that both curricula and teaching methods had to be adjusted to fit the specific psychological make up of colonized students, while the colonial teachers were psychologically well screened for a career in the colonial service.<sup>11</sup>

Clignet supported Mannoni's view by arguing that the colonial situation exposed the colonized only to the elements of the colonizer's culture likely to facilitate a perpetuation of the colonial order,<sup>12</sup> and that the practices, ideologies and philosophies imposed upon the colonized were alien to the African tradition. Consequently, Clignet claimed that the colonized experienced a double alienation. Firstly, the African was exposed to educational and cultural stimuli that tended to erase the significance of the

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<sup>6</sup>Carnoy M., *Education as Cultural Imperialism*, New York, McKay., 1974.

<sup>7</sup>Mamouni A., *L'Education en Afrique*, Paris, Maspero., 1964.

<sup>8</sup>Watson K., (ed), *Education in the Third World*, London, Croom Helen., 1982.

<sup>9</sup>Mannoni O., *Psychology of Colonisation.*, Paris, 1950., translation by Prospero and Caliban, London, Mathuen, 1956.

<sup>10</sup>ibid.

<sup>11</sup>ibid., ch. 6.

<sup>12</sup>Clignet R., "Damned if you do, damned if you don't. The Dilemmas of colonizer-colonized relations" in *Comparative Education Review*, 15. 1971, p. 303.

African past and secondly, that the African was over exposed to selected elements of the metropolitan culture.

Clignet's contention was that the books, curricula, and teaching force exported to the colony reflected the specific requirements of the colonizers and offered a distorted image of the metropolitan culture.<sup>13</sup> He concluded that assimilation was the ideological framework within which the colonizer stressed the universality of his own culture and restricted the aspiration towards upward mobility experienced by the colonized to individuals rather than collectivities. The term, assimilation, itself had a colonialist overtone and was commonly used in a passive form to suggest that the colonial subject was reduced to the role of an object. The end of such policies was the superimposition of metropolitan structures and processes. Their success depended upon the degree to which the colonized actively adapted their framework of analysis and action to the new legal and cultural demands of the colonizer. Clignet further remarked that the colonizer stressed the universality of egalitarianism and emphasized the value of assimilative policies and that the colonized was induced in turn to claim that the differences which opposed him to his master made this universality impossible.<sup>14</sup>

These scholars all agreed that the links established between schools and the remainder of the colonial society were predetermined by the processes at work in the colonizer's society rather than by those underlying the functioning of the colony. They claimed that the use of such strategies required the colonizers to adopt a particular ideological stance towards the colonized by disregarding the values of local cultures and by placing such cultures on a lower evolutionary level than that of the European. This reflected social Darwinism.

Implicit in these views is the general acceptance that educational problems are the outcome of the political, economic, cultural and psychological factors of the colonial situation as manipulated by the colonizers. Consequently, colonial and Missionary education are said to have strengthened the economic and political supremacy of the colonizers over the colonized and the authoritarian structure of the colonial administration

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<sup>13</sup>ibid.

<sup>14</sup>ibid.

is said to have implanted the notion that education and the right to rule were automatically synonymous.<sup>15</sup> It can, therefore be argued that the lack of mass education served to reinforce the impression of the alliance between education and power. As a consequence, the selection process for the recruitment of pupils and the nature of the curriculum imposed upon the colonized deserve to be blamed for perpetuating the existing patterns of domination.<sup>16</sup> From the colonialists' manipulation of the economy, politics and culture in the colonial scene and marginalising the colonized, it can be deduced that the colonial enterprise exerted psychological pressures on the colonized pupils.

Colonial education systems have also been accused of being little more than tools used by capitalists to exploit the underdeveloped World and to keep their people in subjection.<sup>17</sup> The colonial education policies have been seen as not only having perpetrated underdevelopment but at the same time as neglecting education.<sup>18</sup> Much of the education at the rural schools is claimed to have been generally irrelevant to the real social, psychological or employment needs of the pupils. The excessive concentration on diplomas and examinations which originated in and were designed for the use of metropolitan powers, is seen to have become over time the major purpose of much of the colonial schooling.

It can however be argued that colonialism involved the colonizer and the colonized, while the criticisms on the colonial situation give the impression of a silent and unmotivated colonized population. Only the strategies of the colonial powers were analyzed. The political, economic and cultural interest of Africans and their role in the development of education were over-looked. Moreover, the efforts made by colonial regimes to adapt education to African cultures were not considered. Nor were the roles analyzed of individuals who worked hard, often under difficult conditions in teaching and

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<sup>15</sup>Cowan L.G., "British and French education in Africa: A Critical Appraisal" in Piper D.C., and Cole T., (eds) *Post-primary Education and Political and Economic Development*, London, Cambridge University Press., 1964. p. 198.

<sup>16</sup>Clignet R., op. cit. p. 296.

<sup>17</sup>Rodney W., *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*, London, L' Ouverture Publications. 1971.

<sup>18</sup>Watson K., op. cit. p. 2.



in organizing educational work. Undoubtedly, the values that were transmitted through schooling may not all have been inappropriate.

The part played by Christian Missions to protect the colonized was also ignored. Some Missionaries intervened vigorously against the excesses of colonial exploitation. Similarly, the active participation of Africans in determining the pattern of education for African society was also not considered.

Above all, the criticisms are made indiscriminately of colonialism and educational development. The criticisms are also made indifferently as if there were no variations in the different colonial powers. What seems to be totally overlooked is a consideration of the educational experiences and upbringing of the colonial administrators. Nor do the critics consider the conventional educational wisdom of the time which influenced the administrators. Education under the colonial regimes equalled schooling with a neo-classical academic curriculum and grants-in-aid were only permissible if examination results were satisfactory and inspection was allowed. Colonial administrations may have been patronising but some such as the British had to develop an *ad hoc* policy on the spot to resolve pertinent problems without assistance or guidance from the metropolis. The fact that the colonialists and Missionaries were usually the first to develop a written form of local languages and turn them into means of disseminating knowledge in societies where education had been oral seems in most cases to be ignored. An examination of the development of colonial policies and particularly, educational policies will reveal that policies were very slow to evolve. The critics also fail to note that the slow development of secondary education at the time reflected the fact that this level of education was not universal in Western Europe until after the Second World War.

A critical examination of the reactions of Cameroonians to colonial rule will demonstrate that political, economic and cultural ambitions influenced their responses to education. For example, the Douala rulers invited Queen Victoria to establish British imperial rule over Cameroon and requested the establishment of the British education

system. Further evidence can be found in the annexation treaty with the Germans, in which the Douala insisted on the establishment of education.<sup>19</sup>

Aspects of the analysis adopted by Fanon, Memmi and Manoni could be accepted as viable approaches to understand the general problems posed by African education at the early stage of independence. But the continued failure to reform education and the disintegration of national institutions under independent Governments for over three decades after independence cast doubts as to the validity of the arguments employed by these scholars. This study proposes to emphasize the importance of analysing the motivations and reactions of the colonized people. This strategy will emphasize the antecedent factors in the pre-colonial society that might have persisted during the colonial period or re-emerged strongly after independence.

Furthermore, this study contends that analysis of the colonial situation alone cannot explain the problem involved in unifying and reforming post-colonial national institutions. It argues that the heterogeneous setting of the pre-colonial society, characterised by a wide range of independent traditional institutions under many ethnic groups, and a large number of local languages and traditions affected and still influences the people's attitudes towards change. This contention is supported by the narrow scope covered by colonial and Missionary education. An insignificant proportion of the society acquired education. It was therefore, not possible for education to generate unifying factors such as common cultural concepts and language for national integration. Additionally, the peripheral role of the colonial administration in Cameroon, especially under the British rule does not lend credence to the argument that colonial education alone could have so formidably conditioned the attitudes of Cameroonians to education.

This study suggests therefore, that in examining the economic and political factors, attention must be given not only to the motives of the colonizers but also and more importantly, to the economic and political reasons that induced Africans to accept or reject colonial and Missionary education. Furthermore, it is argued that the psychological outcome should be seen more as a product of the economic and political factors because

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<sup>19</sup>It was contained in Nachtigal's, (chief negotiator of German party) report of 16 August 1884 on the annexation treaty. See Rudin H., *The Germans in the Cameroons 1884-1914: a case study in modern imperialism*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938., p.353.

the desire to achieve socio-economic and political mobility through education inevitably had psychological consequences.

The important dimension of post-colonial relations is also considered crucial in this study. The earlier studies mentioned above were conducted at the beginning of independence when assistance (in cash and kind) from the former metropolis was still substantial. There was still tangible support from international organisations and some developed countries. The declining economies of African states in recent years, the association of African Governments with corruption leading to the refusal of aid by the developed nations and international organisations have combined with the stringent conditions attached to loans from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to further impede hopes of institutional reforms in education, that require substantial expenditure.

Earlier studies on the impact of the colonial situation on education overlooked the role of the formation of post-colonial regional groupings on the development of individual states. Cameroon's involvement in Francophone African ministers of education conferences since independence has had implications for Cameroonian attitudes because the reforms proposed by those conferences either ignored changes in the Anglophone system or imposed changes that were out of context with the system in place. These actions aroused suspicions among the Anglophones who saw the changes more like assimilation into the majority Francophone system than attempts to unify and reform the two systems.

Finally, while the studies discussed above were based on individual colonial situations, this study has the task of examining a unique society that went through three colonial regimes and ended up with two distinct colonial systems (French and British). Embedded within each of these two systems were paradoxes that should be addressed to identify the factors that influenced peoples' attitudes towards education. And between the two systems there developed significant differences in attitudes that must be recognised if reforms towards a single national educational system are desired.

## British and French Colonial Education Systems.

The differences between the respective colonial systems have attracted many studies such as those by Clignet and Foster,<sup>20</sup> and that of Cowan.<sup>21</sup> Attempts to contrast the theories that distinguished British and French colonial education have often made allusion respectively to adaptation and assimilation, and suggesting that British design, especially since the Second World War, was for eventual self-government, whilst French ultimate desire was for assimilation to metropolitan France. But a close examination will reveal that the distinction between the aims of autonomy and assimilation in the two systems might have been broken down at the level of post-primary schooling.<sup>22</sup> Post-primary educational structures are said to have been replicas of the curricula and institutions existing in the mother country although the French system seems to have been much more thorough in its total transfer of French culture.

Although the two systems manifested similar general objectives and elements of assimilationist policy, they were distinctly different especially in relationship to the metropolis. The theme of eventual self-government distinguished the British colonial policy in the post-war era and was sometimes explicit in the education policies.<sup>23</sup> By creating schools as a result of the Elliots Commission (1943), and making available funds from the Commonwealth and Welfare Fund from 1940, it became evident that the objective<sup>24</sup> was to create a group of leaders who could operate an administration, albeit along the lines of the British model. At the same time concern to adapt the changing African society to the new requirements of modern technological life was manifested by the creation of modern economic structures and the training of Africans to manage them.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Clignet R.M, and Foster P.J, "French and British Colonial Education in Africa", *Comparative Education Review*. 8. 1. 1964., pp.191-198.

<sup>21</sup>Cowan L.C., op. cit. pp.178-199.

<sup>22</sup>ibid. p.178.

<sup>23</sup>The 1949 Education Ordinance for Nigeria and Cameroon, and particularly the 1951 amendment of the ordinance have been discussed in chapter four to illustrate this point.

<sup>24</sup>"Memorandum on Mass Education in African Society" in *Colonial No. 186* of 1944.

<sup>25</sup>The creation of the Cameroon Development Corporation in 1946 and the award of scholarships during the post-war period for professional training has been discussed in chapter four of this thesis. Also see reports to the United Nations from 1947.

However, these theoretical conceptions, seemingly exemplary, faced the same difficulties as the administrative policy of indirect rule. There was a contradiction in the educational system that was designed to produce an educated elite that would form the core of an autonomous national administration while a deliberate effort was made at the local Government level to avoid creating such an educated elite who could undermine the authority of the traditional rulers. Contradictions were implied between attempting to establish a modern administration based on educational achievement on the one hand and trying to preserve the traditional authorities on the other hand. Thus education became a political force as Helen Kitchen pointed out

...the political result that education had wrought came only when these new Africans, with their determination to change the whole structure of both tribal and colonial authority, had become too powerful a genie to put back in the bottle.<sup>26</sup>

Therefore, nationalism and the growth of the desire for independence can be considered the real fruits of the colonial educational legacy.<sup>27</sup> Both elements demonstrate developments in Africans' attitudes to education.

French educational theory and practice did not suffer from the apparent contradictions in British policies. The ultimate goal consistent throughout the colonial period was to create a political and professional elite of a high intellectual calibre expected to identify closely with French culture. This elite was to adapt African societies to French culture and not to adapt French education and culture to African societies. A second objective was to establish mass education aimed at improving living standards and based exclusively on the French language. But the failure in achieving both the high quality and the mass education before the Second World War created the situation that became the focal point in the debate on reforming French colonial education policy during the Brazaville conference of 1944.<sup>28</sup> Consequently, the French colonial concept of education was in contrast with that of the British, and should be recognised by post-colonial Government in the attempt to unify the two systems.

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<sup>26</sup>Kitchen H., (ed) *The Educated African: a country by country survey of educational development in Africa.*, New York, 1962, Frederick A. Praeger, Introductory chapter, pp. 4-5.

<sup>27</sup>Cowan L.G., op. cit. p.180.

<sup>28</sup>PRO.FO.371/42216., The Brazaville Conference of 1944.

In both systems, the maintenance of standards was inevitably confused with the need for identification with a European curriculum, because in the establishment of the secondary and post-secondary education curricula, the relevance of an African content to educational needs was ignored and a replication of London and Paris examination syllabuses adopted.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, both systems emphasized the literary and humanistic content of the curriculum rather than the technical and vocational subjects, because of the pressing need for a high calibre of Africans in the colonial service and because of African demands. Africans apparently realized that the Europeans in authority were mostly graduates in literary and humanistic studies which suggested that the role of educated Africans was to supervise the non-educated people. Thus, the acquisition of education was perceived as a release from manual labour and by implication, technical tasks became undesirable because colonial technicians were seen to be lower in the colonial hierarchy than the administrators.

The French programme of assimilation produced an educated elite who identified culturally and spiritually more with France than with the colonial society.<sup>30</sup> The centralized educational control of the French administration consistently maintained such clearly defined goals that resulted in the establishment of more uniform education standards than in the educational policies of the British. Meanwhile the decentralized educational control in the British colonies established local educational authorities and introduced a sense of indirect guidance rather than direct management by the colonial administration. School management became a communal effort especially under the Native Administration and Mission systems. The French system remained under the full control of the Government. Secondly, the respect for traditional African culture resulting from the concept of indirect rule, in the British system, lessened the pressure on African leaders to demonstrate a break with the culture of the former colonial power. Both systems, because of financial and personnel limitations, encouraged education mostly among those who were receptive to the evangelistic work of the Missions, while Muslim areas remained relatively untouched and lagged behind in educational achievements.

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<sup>29</sup>Cowan L.G., *op. cit.*, p.182.

<sup>30</sup>*ibid*, p. 183.

However, the French colonial education reached deeper levels. Assimilationist policies heightened the impact of French education while the impact of the British system was superficial. In addition, the French education was available to more people than the British system (60 percent of school age children by 1961 under the French as compared to 40 percent under the British).<sup>31</sup> The larger number of recipients of the French education and the assimilationist strategy inevitably imbued Cameroonians with a greater cultural dependence on France than the British system. It may then be argued that there should be no reform problem because the few and superficially educated Cameroonians, recipients of the British system may not resist assimilation into the inherited French system. So the resistance by the minority Anglophones and their continued attachment to the inherited English system deserve further explanations which may be associated with a pattern of colonial education that depended heavily on Missionary societies and the Native Authority (N.A.) school system.

#### **Post-colonial situation:**

The above analysis of the colonial situation and the differences between the British and French colonial education practices suggest that colonialism brought direct European political, economic, cultural and educational control. At independence, the control shifted from the direct to the indirect. Africans and Africanist scholars have blamed the post-colonial problems on developed nations. When Kwame Nkrumah had to reform education in Ghana, he blamed British colonial education for being an ineffective means of African social and political integration and especially for being inappropriate in terms of economic development.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, when Nyerere wanted to reform education in Tanzania, he regarded colonial education as the colonialists' attempts to refuse Africans the type of education that could ensure progress.<sup>33</sup> Additionally, Rodney,<sup>34</sup> and Fanon,<sup>35</sup> emphatically blame the former colonial powers for the post-colonial education problems in Africa. They

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<sup>31</sup>UNESCO *Report of the Advisory Commission for the development of Higher Education in the Federal Republic of Cameroon*, Paris, UNESCO publication., 1962.

<sup>32</sup>Arhin K., *The Life and Works of Kwame Nkrumah*, New Jersey, African World Press., 1993. pp. 53-79.

<sup>33</sup>Nyerere J.K., *The Arusha Declaration.*, Dar es Salaam, Government Printer., 1964.

<sup>34</sup>Rodney W., op. cit.

<sup>35</sup>Fanon F, 1967, op. cit.

saw the educational systems and policies as well as the intellectual life of independent African states as aspects of "neocolonialism".

Educational neocolonialism is defined as a partially planned policy of advanced nations to maintain their influence in developing countries.<sup>36</sup> This influence was not unconnected with past practices during the colonial rule. Strategies for an understanding of post-colonial educational problems have therefore been suggested which emphasize the need to focus on the reactions of the colonized peoples to foreign educational policies, and the examination of the motivations of both the colonizers and the colonized during the period of colonial rule.<sup>37</sup>

Altbach suggested a framework for analysing the post-colonial education patterns which might reveal that the educational systems remain rooted in the administrative structures of the former metropolis.<sup>38</sup> He argues that the developed nation may not be the direct cause of the existing situation but the fact that the structure or the organisation of the schools reflects a foreign model, invariably suggests an impact on the pattern of education. He proposed a study of the curricula at all levels of schooling, and suggested that where textbooks imported from developed countries along with expatriate teachers and educational administrators are available, the books and the expatriates perpetuate the inculcation of foreign values and therefore inhibit attempts to re-structure education to suite national goals. Finally, he indicated that post-colonial practice can also be identified where the languages of the former colonial rulers remain the media of school instruction, because they are the means by which alien values are continually cherished.

Altbach's proposed strategies and orientations do not adequately consider the importance of political and economic factors in post-colonial situations. His proposals were made before the general breakdown in African economic and political stability. The changing economic and political condition in Cameroon since independence has influenced

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<sup>36</sup>Altbach P.G., "Education and Neocolonialism : A note." in *Comparative Education Review*.,15, 1. 1971, p. 237.

<sup>37</sup>ibid. p. 238.

<sup>38</sup>ibid.



the attitudes of Cameroonians towards reforms. For example, the strongest resistance to reforms corresponds with the periods of economic slump and political instability.

Altbach's framework does not also consider the impact of the departure of Missionary societies and the heightened role of the state in educational provision in the post-colonial era. The end of Mission participation in education has affected attitudes during the post-colonial period. The intervening role that the Missions used to play between the Government and the people has been discontinued. The creation of large numbers of Government-owned schools and the transfer of many church schools to Government control have ultimately weakened the influence of those replacing the Missionaries. The central Government control involving politicians, who employ the provision of schools as political incentives to gain support in various constituencies has over-politicized educational issues.

From the historiographical survey a general background knowledge of the problems of colonial and post-colonial education is provided and an awareness of the differences between the British and French colonial education systems has been established which suggest the basis for examining the problem of educational reform in Cameroon. Meanwhile, it is important to consider studies that have addressed the subject, in order to justify the need for the present study.

### **Justification for the study:**

Literature on African education has addressed contemporary educational problems from different standpoints. Studies by Ajayi,<sup>39</sup> Berman,<sup>40</sup> Moumoumi,<sup>41</sup> Mangan,<sup>42</sup> Osaba and Ikime (eds)<sup>43</sup> among others, have addressed colonial and Christian education from two

<sup>39</sup>Ajayi J.F.A., (ed) *The Education Process and Historiography in Contemporary Africa*, UNESCO publication, Paris, 1985. The contributions by Devise J, Mazrui A.A. and Wago L.T, are pertinent.

<sup>40</sup>Berman E.H., (ed) *African Reactions to Missionary Education*, New York, Teachers College Press., 1975.

<sup>41</sup>Mamoumi A., *op. cit.*

<sup>42</sup>Mangan J.A., (ed) *"Benefits bestowed"? Education and British Imperialism.*, Manchester University Press, 1988., see chapter 11, "British colonial education policy: a synonym for cultural imperialism?" by Whitehead C., p.211-230.

<sup>43</sup>Osaba S. and Ikime O., (eds), "Christianity in Modern Africa", *Tarikh.*, 13, 1.

different but sometimes convergent directions. On the one hand they blame colonial education for having endangered the old structure of society and more importantly, the values on which African social structures were established. On the other hand they criticize colonial and Missionary education for introducing Western economic institutions which have destroyed African patterns. They argue that Africans who went through Western schooling could only reflect on their educational problems through Western frames of mind. They also consider post-colonial educational aid as being inextricably linked to western influence and as a consequence, a heightening factor of dependency.

Critical and dispassionate studies from a European background have also shed light on African educational problems. Policy implications were examined by Margaret Read in 1950 when she suggested a revision of British education policy because of its effect on African social institutions. She recommended historical studies of educational developments in the respective dependencies from a viewpoint not merely concerned with the administration and statistics of development, as it was often the case, but particularly with the aim of investigating the ideological intentions of those promoting and controlling education.<sup>44</sup> Earlier, as head of the Colonial Department of the University of London Institute of Education, she had advocated mass education as a basic necessity for development in Africa. She cited the examples of China and Russia, stating that

...mass education is one of the secrets of the great strength and achievements and endurance of our two great allies, it has helped to make them a great force in the modern world.<sup>45</sup>

Arguing for a pattern of educational adaptation, she said education had to be "something in which Africans were keen and not something put over them from on top".<sup>46</sup> She suggested that

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<sup>44</sup>Read M., *Education and Social Change in Tropical Areas*, London, Thomas Nelson and sons Limited., 1955.

<sup>45</sup>ibid

<sup>46</sup>See "Dr. Margaret Read of London University is Advocate of Mass education in Africa." in *West African Pilot*, 7 February 1944.

Literacy first, then agriculture and health and local Government, for mass education is about the whole of life.<sup>47</sup>

She was therefore one of those to observe the flaws in British colonial educational policy which she considered to be inconsistently adaptationist.

Philip Foster also made a significant contribution through an assessment of the economic, political and social consequences of the process of transfer of educational institutions from the metropolis to the colonies.<sup>48</sup> He examined the structural characteristics of metropolitan education and how it became meaningfully related to a new environment. His study further broadens the debates on the implication of educational transfer. McLean went beyond the economic effects on policy outcomes by examining the impact of African demand and political preferences.<sup>49</sup>

The specific impact of Missionary education under colonial regimes has also been studied by many historians. Amongst them are the works of Omenka,<sup>50</sup> Eketchi,<sup>51</sup> Kondo-Gere,<sup>52</sup> and Tiberondwa.<sup>53</sup> Their interpretations of the issues help to clarify the consequences of some of the close relationships and differences between colonial regimes and Missionary societies on the development of education. They generally agree that Missionary societies operated in close alliance with colonial regimes. But the complications arising from a foreign Missionary society operating under the colonial regime of another nation or the impact of individual Missionaries were not given attention.

<sup>47</sup>ibid

<sup>48</sup>Foster P., *Education and Social Change in Ghana*, Chicago, Routledge and Kegan Paul., 1965.

<sup>49</sup>McLean M., "A Comparative Study of assimilationist and adaptationist policies in British colonial Africa, 1925-1953, with special reference to the Gold Coast and Tanganyika", Ph.D. London, 1978.

<sup>50</sup>Omenka N.L., *The school in the Service of Evangelisation: The Catholic education impact in Eastern Nigeria, 1886-1950.*, Leiden, E. J. Brill., 1989.

<sup>51</sup>Eketchi F.K., *Missionary Enterprise and Rivalry in Igboland, 1838-1885*, London, Frank Cass., 1972.

<sup>52</sup>Kondo-Gere M., "L'Enseignement Missionnaire dans le development du Congo Belge", in Ajayi J.F.A., (ed) *The Education Process and Historiography in Contemporary Africa.*, UNESCO publication, Paris, 1985.

<sup>53</sup>Tiberondwa A.K., *Missionary as agent of colonisation*, Lusaka, National Education Company of Zambia, 1978.

Clignet and Foster, compared the assimilationist policies (which aimed at creating an elite cherishing metropolitan values and often associated with French colonialism), with cultural adaptation (which was considered the British approach to colonial education).<sup>54</sup> They concluded that in practice, both colonial powers wavered between assimilationist and adaptationist policies. Their framework is an important basis for an analysis of the British and French colonial education in Cameroon even though their illustrations were taken from Ghana and Ivory Coast which had experienced the colonial rule of one power only. The situation in Cameroon with three colonial regimes deserves special investigation.

It is evident from a review of the available literature on the history of education in tropical Africa that attention has not been adequately given to the peculiar situation of states that had more than one colonial regimes (Burundi, Cameroon, Namibia, Rwanda, Somalia, Tanzania and Togo). Thus the present study intends to contribute towards closing this gap.

Research examining reforms in Cameroon directed towards ruralisation of education in order to make it relevant to the masses has been carried out by Abangma.<sup>55</sup> Akoulouze examined the problems of primary school reforms<sup>56</sup> while Tosam examined two specific projects aimed at implementing primary school reforms in Cameroon.<sup>57</sup> A recent thesis on the problems of financing education in Cameroon by Tembon,<sup>58</sup> has highlighted the enormous problems that Cameroon education is facing because of an outdated financing policy. It also emphasized the confusion reigning between the Government and parents in the financing of education and underscored the fact that Cameroon education is in an impasse and requires restructuring.

<sup>54</sup>op. cit.pp. 191-198.

<sup>55</sup>Abangma M.A., "A study of Primary teachers attitudes towards the ruralisation of school curriculum in English speaking Cameroon" Ph.D. London, 1981.

<sup>56</sup>Akoulouze A.R., "La Reforme de L'enseignement Primaire du Cameroun (1967-1984). Les causes de la non mise en application". Unpublished, Yaounde, 1984. See also his thesis, "What education for what Society? The elite ideology of social change in Cameroon" Ph.D. Stanford, 1983.

<sup>57</sup>Tosam J.F., "Implementing educational change in Cameroon: two case studies in primary education" Ph.D. London 1988.

<sup>58</sup>Tembon M., "The Financing of education in Mezam Division of the North West Province, Cameroon; An uneasy partnership?" Ph.D.London, 1994.

These studies have largely investigated contemporary problems without considering the history of the educational issues and their ideological implications. Africa's situation is an historical process and therefore cannot be resolved without an historical understanding of those forces<sup>59</sup> that collude to bedevil education. Those forces are historically structured and systematized and have gained their own complex historical dynamics and rationality. Thus trying to understand and solve the problems without an historical knowledge may never resolve the major forces.

This research is not, however, the first historical study of Cameroon colonial and Missionary education. Vernon-Jackson,<sup>60</sup> described and analyzed the different systems of education that evolved in Cameroon from 1844 to 1969. Booth<sup>61</sup> compared the Catholic Mission education with that of the Government. Nfor-Gwei<sup>62</sup> examined factors that affected the development of higher education. Meanwhile Weber<sup>63</sup> researched into the changing patterns of Baptist Missionary Societies in Cameroon education. Although these studies examined the development of education, they hardly related the problems of the past to present day issues. However, Shu's study<sup>64</sup> on the collaboration between state and Missions illuminates the differences between the three colonial regimes and the Missions. But the period covered (1910-1931) is so brief and remote from the post-colonial period that it limits understanding of its connections with current education in Cameroon. In the

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<sup>59</sup>Mwereria G. K., *Re-Africanisation of Knowledge: The roots of the politics of African politics of education.*, Nairobi, Kenyatta University Press, 1987. p. 1.

<sup>60</sup>Vernon-Jackson H.O.H., "Schools and school systems in Cameroon 1844-1969" D.ED. Columbia, 1969.

<sup>61</sup>Booth B.F., "A comparative study of Mission and Government Involvement in Educational Development in West Cameroon, 1922-1969". Ph.D. Michigan, 1975.

<sup>62</sup>Nfor-Gwei S.N., "Education in Cameroon: Western Pre-colonial and colonial antecedents and the development of Higher education" Ph.D. Michigan, 1975.

<sup>63</sup>Webber C.W., *The Educational Policy and Mission schools of the Baptists in British Cameroons, 1922-1945.*, E.J. Brill, Leiden., 1993.

<sup>64</sup>Shu S.N., "The collaboration policy in Cameroon education, 1910-1931, a study of the policy of collaboration between Government and voluntary agencies", Ph.D. London 1972.

same manner, Mbala-Owona<sup>65</sup> examined the social effects of colonial education but did not assess its impact on the attitudes of those who received the education.

Perhaps the most pertinent historical research on colonial and Mission education that made reference to their effects on Cameroonians was that of Madiba Essiben.<sup>66</sup> He focused on the inter-cultural history of Christianity and highlighted the effects of colonialism and evangelisation on education up to 1956. His findings blamed post-colonial problems on "intellectual colonialism". But the study referred neither to the current problems of educational reform nor to the impact of the changing colonial regimes and the differences that they developed in the attitudes of the Cameroonians perceptions of education. As a consequence, the study does not particularly highlight the post-colonial education problems as by-products of the ambivalences within and differences between changing patterns.

Finally, it is important to mention the study by Raaflaub,<sup>67</sup> on the Basel Mission education in Cameroon. The study examined Basel Mission relations with the state and the public in the provision of schooling opportunities. Since the study ended before 1948, the implications of nationalism that underpinned the relations of colonial regimes and the colonized during the period of decolonization are not considered. Nor does it examine the post-colonial state/church relations as a contributory factor to the present educational predicament.

From these studies, it is evident that a gap exists in understanding the problems besetting Cameroon educational reforms. This study intends to contribute to filling the gap by addressing the persistent problem of reforms from a historical perspective. By so doing, it is hoped that new knowledge will be added to the history of education in particular and the social history of Cameroon in general during the period under review.

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<sup>65</sup>Mbala-Owona R., *L'Ecole colonial du Cameroun; Approche Historico-sciologique*, Yaounde, Edition de l' Imprimerie Nationale, 1986 .

<sup>66</sup>Madiba E., *Colonisation et Evangelisation en Afrique; L'heritage scolaire au Cameroun (1885-1956)*, Bern, Editions Peter Lang, 1980.

<sup>67</sup>Raaflaub F., "Gebt uns Lehrer, Geschichte und Gegenwartsaufgabe der Basler Mission Kamerun", Ph.D. Basel, 1948.

The special reference made to the Basel Mission is undertaken firstly, because education under colonial regimes was predominantly provided by Christian Missionary societies. Secondly, although many Missionary societies were involved with schooling in Cameroon, the Basel Mission was one of the only two Missions that served continuously (except during their temporary expulsion following the German defeat at the First World War) under the different regimes including post-colonial rule. The other one was the American Presbyterian Mission<sup>68</sup> which, because of its American origin, could survive more comfortably under the British regime. But the German origin of the Basel Mission raises the question of how it survived under the British rule, especially during moments of severe animosity between Germany and Britain. This is also intended to add to the history of the Basel Mission in Cameroon during the period under review.

### **Parameters of the study:**

This study does not pretend to provide solutions to the present crisis in Cameroon education. Its intention is to discuss the development of different attitudes derived from the changing regimes and social development in complicating the search for a solution to current predicaments in education. It is hoped that those involved in reshaping Cameroon education may become informed of the inherent attitudes derived from diverse legacies.

It also contributes to an understanding of the efforts made by the Basel Mission to the development of education in Cameroon up to 1966 because the Basel Mission handed over their educational activities to an indigenous Cameroonian church in that year and secondly because later records are not easily accessible for research. The establishment of a single political party in Cameroon started in 1966. This marked the beginning of central control of education in Anglophone Cameroon. Post-1966 issues are occasionally raised to illustrate post-colonial Cameroonian attitudes to educational reforms.

The research depended on primary sources consulted in archives and libraries in Cameroon, Nigeria, Europe and Britain. Interviews were conducted with former pupils, retired school teachers and administrators of the Basel Mission, educational administrators, colonial administrators and the politicians of the period. These sources proved

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<sup>68</sup>Efeso M.H.T., "The United Presbyterian Mission Enterprise in Cameroon 1879-1957" Ph.D. Howard, 1987.

indispensable for the period before the Second World War since all available documents then are either official or Missionary and hardly represent Cameroonian views. Secondary sources ranging from theses, journals and books related to colonial and Missionary education were also consulted.

Valuable insights were gained from the researcher's personal participation in some of the reforms and his personal experiences as a pupil in the latter part of the period under study, as well as being a teacher and educational administrator in both central and regional services of the Ministry of National Education during which he was involved with both systems of education. Contacts with his colleagues of both Francophone and Anglophone origins during the research were also invaluable to update current developments on the educational reforms.

The study is in eight chapters. After the introduction, chapters two to five examine the educational provisions of the respective regimes (German, French, British and early independent Cameroon). The Basel Mission education is highlighted in the next two chapters. Finally, there is an analysis of Cameroonian responses to both Government and Mission education which is followed by a conclusion.

### **Cameroon: contact with Missionary and colonial education.**

Cameroon is located at the meeting point of West and Central African regions and has consequently been variously described as a West African or Central African state. Since independence and the reunification of Cameroon, it has maintained very close economic and cultural ties with the other French speaking states of Central Africa (formerly the French Equatorial African states to which the south-eastern part of Cameroon belonged until its surrender to Germany as part of the accord of 1911). Thus together they belong to the Organisation of Central African and Malagasy states (OCAM), the Economic and Customs Union of Central African States (UDEAC) and jointly share the same Central Bank for Central African States (BEAC) which has its headquarters in Cameroon.<sup>69</sup> Cameroon's involvement in these financial, economic and cultural unions rather than West African associations justify its being considered a Central rather than

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<sup>69</sup>These acronyms are in French; see list of abbreviation on page 10.





West African state and gives an insight to why it is more involved with the *Francophonie* countries.

The immediate neighbours on the eastern border are the Republic of Chad, the Republic of Central Africa and the Republic of Congo. Within the southern region, the neighbours are the Republics of Gabon and Equatorial Guinea. Meanwhile on the western border stretching from the Gulf of Guinea precisely from the western end of Rio del Rey northwards to lake Chad, Cameroon shares a common frontier with the Republic of Nigeria. (Figure 1.p. 37) Cameroon occupies a total land surface of 475.442 square kilometres; and a boundary length of 4.500 kilometres with only 500 kilometres of coastline on the Gulf of Guinea.<sup>70</sup> By size it is the 23rd. largest of the 55 African states with a modest population of 12.239 000 inhabitants in 1991.<sup>71</sup>

Since its first contact with the rest of the world, Cameroon has recorded a wide variety of political and cultural influences.<sup>72</sup> In 1472,<sup>73</sup> the Portuguese led by Fernão do Pão arrived at the island of Biyoko which became known as Fernão Po island until independence.<sup>74</sup> On sailing to the main land, they noticed numerous prawns in the estuary of River Wouri which they immediately named *Rio dos Camarões* (River of Prawns) from which the country derived its name. The Spanish traders on taking over Portuguese activities, called the River and land, *Camerones* and when the English arrived they called the area *Cameroons* while the German called it *Kamerun* and the French wrote it as *Cameroun*. Presently, it is known as *Cameroon* by those who use English as their first official language and *Cameroun* by those who are French speaking.

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<sup>70</sup>Gwanfogbe M.B. and Melingui A., *Geography of Cameroon*, Basingstoke, Macmillan., 1983.

<sup>71</sup>UNESCO *Statistical Yearbook*., UNESCO publication, Paris, 1991, p. 1-12.

<sup>72</sup> Kwast L., *The Discipling of West Cameroon; study of Baptist Growth*, Michigan, Berdmas Publishing Company., 1971. Also see Lekunze E.F., "Chieftaincy and Christianity in Cameroon, 1886-1926", Ph.D. Chicago, 1987.

<sup>73</sup>Ardener E.W., "Documentary and the linguistic Sources for the rise of the trading polities between Rio del Rey and Cameroon, 1500-1650" in I.M. Lewis., (ed) *History and Anthropology*, London, Tavistock Publication., 1963.

<sup>74</sup>Gwanfogbe and Melingui; op. cit. 1983 .

From the 15th century, Cameroon's contact with the outside world was based on active commerce on the coast. By 1530, there was a shift from ivory and other agricultural products to the lucrative but inhuman trade in slaves. By 1560, the Portuguese dominance declined in favour of the Dutch.<sup>75</sup> English, French, and German traders, particularly Germans from Brandenburg, then the Danes and Swedes increased the number of Europeans on Cameroon coast. By the 18th century the English activities surpassed those of all other Europeans on the coast. When Britain decided to stop the slave trade, they negotiated with the Spanish rulers who then had possession of the island of Fernando Po, to establish a squadron on the island to check on slave trading along the Gulf of Guinea.<sup>76</sup> As an alternative to slave trade, the British took this opportunity to encourage several Bristol and Liverpool traders to set up floating hulks as trading posts on the Cameroon River.<sup>77</sup>

The British influence on the coast expanded extensively because of commercial activities and naval surveillance of slave dealers and the growing activities of Missionary societies both on the mainland and island. To these activities was added an important diplomatic dimension, the creation of a British consulate. There was the frequent presence of the British consul for Fernando Po and the Oil Rivers of the Niger.<sup>78</sup> By 1842, the British consul signed a treaty with Cameroon chiefs in Douala for trade in palm oil and ivory on condition that they stopped slave trading in their chiefdoms.<sup>79</sup>

The predominance of British influence had a political, economic and cultural impact. Administrative systems of British pattern and commercial activities were accompanied by an expanding British educational system established in 1844 by the British Baptist Missionary society and the education of some Cameroonians in Britain. King Bell, the ruler of the Douala people who was one of the principal authors of the

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<sup>75</sup>Van Slageren J., op. cit. p. 11-13. Also see Lekunze op. cit. p. 19.

<sup>76</sup>LeVine., op. cit. p. 17.

<sup>77</sup>Lekunze., op. cit. p. 20.

<sup>78</sup>ibid., pp.18-19.

<sup>79</sup> ibid., p. 20.

letters appealing for British rule, was educated in Bristol.<sup>80</sup> Other forms of cultural influences were manifested by the adoption of English names especially by the ruling class<sup>81</sup> such as Prince Manga William, King Bell, King Akwa etc. British trade and cultural activities especially through education and the active participation of Jamaicans working under the British Baptist Missionary Society introduced Pidgin English<sup>82</sup> which has become the lingua-franca in towns within Cameroon.

But despite the favourable circumstances and the voluntary decision of Cameroonians to associate with the British, the latter procrastinated for too long and were overtaken by the Germans. Influenced by Hamburg business people on the coast and because Britain delayed, the Germans succeeded in bribing some Cameroon coastal leaders to pass over their allegiance to German imperial rule.<sup>83</sup>

German rule lasted from 14th July 1884 to March 1916 when they were expelled as a result of their defeat in Cameroon during the First World War. (Figure 2.p. 41) During the three decades attempts were made, especially from 1910, to educate and extend the German culture through schooling and the establishment of German political, economic and social institutions.

On taking over Cameroon from the Germans, the British and the French divided the territory.<sup>84</sup> Britain took one fifth located on two contiguous narrow strips on the border with Nigeria starting from the Atlantic Ocean in the south to Lake Chad in the north.<sup>85</sup> The two strips (British Southern Cameroon, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mambila

<sup>80</sup> Mveng E., *op. cit.*

<sup>81</sup> The Cameroonian rulers were so interested in the British culture that they gave themselves the titles of King, Prince etc.

<sup>82</sup> For more on Pidgin English, see Todd, L, *Pidgin and Creoles*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul 1974.

<sup>83</sup> Dike K.O., *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885*; Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1956 pp. 216-217.

<sup>84</sup> NAB. Ba1916/1., First British annual report. Also see, Elango L, " The Anglo-French Condominium in Cameroon, 1914-1916: The Myth and Reality" in *International Journal of African Studies*, 1987, p.82.

<sup>85</sup> NAB. Ba.1916/1., Annual Report. Also see the first report to the League of Nations in 1922.





highlands, and British Northern Cameroon, from Yola to Lake Chad, (Figure 3.p. 42) were administered separately but as integral parts of the southern and northern regions of Nigeria respectively until 1961 when through a U.N. organised plebescite, the southern part chose to gain independence by re-uniting with the French Cameroon (as before under German rule) to form the present Republic of Cameroon, while the northern portion decided to integrate with Nigeria.<sup>86</sup>

Pre-colonial and German Mission education had been limited to the south for practical reasons and also for the protection of Muslim influence in the north. Consequently, Basel Mission education was limited to the south and never extended to the portion that became part of Nigeria in 1961. The French, on taking over their own portion in 1916, compensated the Basel Mission and replaced them by the Paris Protestant Evangelical Mission (*Société Evangélique de Paris*) while the British, after failing to replace the Basel Mission in their zone, allowed their activities to resume in 1925.

An important dimension of international influence that ultimately shaped the course of events that affect education in Cameroon today may be traced from British administrative strategy which remained peripheral throughout the colonial period. From 1916 to 1946, British Southern Cameroon was administered as a province under the southern region of Nigeria. From 1946 to 1954 the territory was administered as two provinces (Cameroon and Bamenda provinces) under the Eastern Region of Nigeria and from 1954 to 1958, it was administered as a "quasi-autonomous" region of Nigeria. Thus unlike other colonies, this portion of Cameroon never received much direct attention from London. Rather, everything had to pass through Lagos (capital of Nigeria and administrative headquarters of the British colonial regime) and for some time, through Lagos and then through Enugu (capital of Eastern Nigeria) before trickling down to Cameroon.

In 1961, British Cameroon was denied the opportunity of evolving all that had influenced the political, social, cultural, economic and educational institutions by being asked to chose between either full integration with Nigeria or re-unification with French

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<sup>86</sup>Arderner E.W., "The Kamerun Idea", in *West Africa*., No. 2147 of 1958.

Cameroon.<sup>87</sup> The choice of re-unifying with French Cameroon which had received very direct and steady encouragement from Paris ultimately posed a problem of cultural and institutional incongruity. The colonial experiences of the Anglophones and Francophones were different. Literacy rate in British Cameroon (north and south) was 20% at reunification in 1961 and the rate in French Cameroon was 67%.<sup>88</sup> Thus the disposition for unification was incompatible. This added to the disparity in sizes (80% Francophone) and population (over 75% Francophone).

From 1922 to 1961, significant influences of internationalism through the mandate of the League of Nations (1922-1945) and trusteeship of the United Nations (1946-1961) equally affected developments in Cameroon. British and French attitudes towards the League of Nations mandate covenant and the United Nations' trusteeship charter in their policy orientations varied significantly and affected the experiences and attitudes of their dependents. The differences in the acquired experiences under colonial rule in the two sectors and the attitudes they developed have had direct effects on Cameroonian post-colonial education. Thus Cameroon to a large extent was unique in colonial development in Africa and therefore presents unique post-colonial features in its educational practice.

In 1961, the British Southern Cameroon became independent and re-united with the former French Cameroon which had become the Republic of Cameroon on attaining independence in January 1960. Together they formed a Federation of two states comprising East Cameroon (former French Cameroon) and West Cameroon (former British Southern Cameroon). Each state had a regional Government and embarked on independent educational reforms. On 20th May 1972, a referendum was conducted to end the Federation. A unitary state with ten provinces was established (Figure 4.p 45) and by implication the need for a unified system of education became more obvious. The failure to unify the two inherited systems and the persistence of both systems in a unitary state constitutes the major problem in present day Cameroon education and the thrust of this research.

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<sup>87</sup>Ardener E.W., "The Nature of the Reunification of Cameroon" in Hazlewood, A., *African Integration and disintegration: case studies in economic and political union*., Oxford university Press, 1967.

<sup>88</sup>"Report of the UNESCO Advisory Commission for the Development of Higher Education in Cameroon" UNESCO publication, Paris, 1962. pp. 28-29.





This chapter has highlighted the nature of the problem of educational reform in Cameroon and reviewed the available literature relating to colonial and post-colonial education. The next six chapters will examine the role of successive political regimes in developing the problem.

## CHAPTER TWO

### CAMEROON EDUCATION UNDER THE GERMAN COLONIAL REGIME (1886-1916)

Education under the German colonial rule was motivated by imperial and Missionary interests as well as a Cameroonian desire to acquire western knowledge. But the preoccupation of the imperial Government with the pacification and economic survey of the territory initially limited Government direct control and favoured the predominance of Missionary societies in the provision of education. As a result, the pattern of education responded more to the needs of the Missionaries and the interests of some Cameroonians until 1910 when Government control was established. This chapter seeks to examine the implications of the varying interests of the colonial regime, Missionary societies and Cameroonians on the development of education. It assesses the impact of Missionary and colonial interest on the development of Cameroonian attitudes to education and the extent to which education under German rule confirms or refutes the interpretations of the colonial situation on education.

The first part of the chapter discusses the role of the colonial administration in the development and control of education with specific attention to policy on curriculum development. The second part examines the development of Mission education and relations with the Government requirements on the one hand and those of the Cameroonian population on the other.

#### **The colonial administration and educational development:**

One year after the appointment of Freiherr Julius Von Soden as the first colonial Governor of Cameroon (1885-1891), he wrote to the Chancellor insisting on the urgent need for the establishment of a Government school if German Missionaries were not ready to take over education from the British Baptist Missionary Society. The Governor considered the continued expansion of the British Baptist Mission in Cameroon to be "injurious to the German rule".<sup>1</sup> He reminded the Government of the commitment in the treaty of annexation in which the Government agreed to provide education and further

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<sup>1</sup>Madiba E., *Colonisation et Évangélisation en Afrique: L'Heritage Scolaire du Cameroun.*, Bern., Editions Peter Lang., 1980.

stated that there were Cameroonians waiting anxiously to be introduced to western education and even ready to pay school fees.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the Governor's appeal, the German business people in Cameroon were instrumental in bringing colonial education to enhance their activities. The most prominent of these tycoons was Adolf Woermann, the Hamburg business magnate who master-minded German annexation of Cameroon in 1884. He was one of the greatest beneficiaries of the German annexation of Cameroon because of his extensive business activities in the territory. As a member of the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce, a member of the liberal party in the Reichstag and president of the *Kolonialverein*, Woermann evidently wielded tremendous political and economic influence. He was also president of the West African syndicate, which was founded through Bismarck's initiative in 1884 and comprised all important German business people on the West African coast. Thus Woermann had unquestioned authority on colonial issues in German West Africa. It was therefore not surprising that the German Chancellor asked Governor Soden to refer his report, including plans for educational development, to Woermann.

After studying the Governor's report, Woermann submitted his recommendations to Bismarck in 1886. He strongly suggested the establishment of elementary schools with a curriculum comprising the 3Rs, religious knowledge, agriculture and the introduction of vocational education.<sup>3</sup> As a business man who relied on plantation exploitation, commercial and shipping activities, his proposal was ultimately directed towards the training of a local labour force. Initially, German business people had to import literate workmen from Liberia and other African countries which was more expensive than employing local people. Thus by offering basic education and the elements of vocational skills, they could raise local labour. The religious knowledge content was aimed at inculcating christian principles and the ethics of work.

Following Woermann's report and the pressure from the colonial administration in Cameroon, the first German teacher, Theodor Christaller, was appointed on the

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<sup>2</sup>Rudin H., *The Germans in the Cameroons*, New Haven, Yale University Press., 1938, p. 353. Following the terms of the treaty of annexation Cameroonians had asked for education and Nachtigal the imperial representative at the treaty arrangement, had addressed a report to that effect on 16 August 1884.

<sup>3</sup>ibid., pp. 353-354.

recommendation of the Basel Mission.<sup>4</sup> After visiting schools in other colonies in West Africa, Christaller arrived in Cameroon and opened the first Government school in February 1887 in Douala. He had a financial grant of 2,500 marks from King Wilhelm II of Germany.<sup>5</sup> The amount was increased to 5,000 marks in the following year. Christaller spent his first year studying the Douala language with the assistance of Bell's family. By 1888, he had produced a story book from which he could teach reading and writing in Douala. He worked in collaboration with two other Germans, Betz and Köbele, to produce a common curriculum for Cameroon and Togoland.<sup>6</sup>

The curriculum involved a five-year course. Special attention was directed to the teaching of German but this was only applied to Government schools. Mission schools continued to develop independent curricula. However, Christaller agreed with the Basel Mission on the use of the language as a medium of instruction, and on a uniform orthography for the Douala language. Unable to achieve a full primary school course, Christaller requested the Government to establish a library in Douala to enable school leavers to continue reading. Unfortunately his sudden death in 1896 left his plans unfulfilled.

It is difficult to speculate upon the course of German education in Cameroon if Christaller had survived until the education conference of 1907. As a person, he was very sympathetic to Cameroonians and much more amenable to Mission educational strategies than all other Government officials. His attitude may be explained by the fact that he was the son of an old Basel Mission worker who had served in the Gold Coast (Ghana). However, it is doubtful whether he could have been able to oppose the hard fisted imperialist rule of Governor Jesco Von Puttkamer whose governorship was marked by scandals and brutalities and exemplified the supremacist fantasies of the period.

The arrival of Governor Puttkamer (1895-1906) ushered in what Helmuth Stoecker has described as a period of "colonialist rule by terror and extensive child labour

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<sup>4</sup>Rudin H., op. cit. p. 354; also see Sieno M., *A History of Cameroon*, Victoria, Pressbook., 1982 p. 158. The Germans relied more on the Basel Mission for education.

<sup>5</sup>Madiba E., op. cit. p. 31.

<sup>6</sup>Shu S.N., *Landmarks in Cameroon Education*, Limbe, NOOREMAC Press., 1985, p. 42.

exploitation".<sup>7</sup> Puttkamer's twelve years of brutal and morally degenerate rule in Cameroon eventually provoked his dishonourable recall.<sup>8</sup> Neither his predecessor nor his successor displayed such attitudes or perpetrated the abuses which terrified and seemingly kept away many Cameroonians from European institutions, including schools. As an individual Puttkamer was openly opposed to educating Africans. He associated the Douala uprisings against the Germans in 1904 and 1905, with the education they had received and discouraged its expansion. To some extent this suspicion had the support of some Germans. Even the Council of Protestant Missionary Societies of Germany had warned in 1897 of the danger that loomed because of the spread of European languages in Africa and the emergence of an educated proletariat which they considered "presumptuous and also easily rebellious".<sup>9</sup> Although only a fragmentary education was given, the Germans regarded it as a potential threat to their rule. This fear of the *hosen neger* (the trousered Black) became a recurrent factor in the development of German policy in Cameroon.

It was not until 1906 that the German colonial Government established administrative control over much of Cameroon, although punitive expeditions continued until 1913. It was easier to tempt chiefs to accept German taxation and forced labour. Hence the later rebellions were mostly from non-centralized communities especially over boundary rectifications.<sup>10</sup> The addition of a vast new area (*Neo-Kamerun*) followed an agreement with France to take over Morocco while giving up some of the French Equatorial land to be added to Cameroon. ( See figure 2. page 41.)

Resistance to German imperial rule had been wide-spread and the colonial Government devoted more attention to military conquest and economic survey.<sup>11</sup> Lakoswski argues that Germany was determined to build up an enormous colonial empire

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<sup>7</sup>Stoecker H., (ed) *German Imperialism in Africa: from the beginning until the second World War*, translated by Bernd Zöllner, London, Hurst Publishers., 1986.

<sup>8</sup>Shu S.N., op. cit. p. 61.

<sup>9</sup>GA.ZSTA, EKOLA, no. 4078, p.156. Letter by Mission Inspector Zahn, 25 July 1894. Also see Stoecker H., op. cit. 224.

<sup>10</sup>Anglo-German Boundary Commission surveyed and agreed on Yola to Ossidinge (Manyu) between 1912 and 1913. See NAB .Ba 1916/1 and Rudin H., op. cit. chapter 2.

<sup>11</sup>See Rudin H., op. cit. p. 97, for details about Franco-German agreement of 1911 which increased the Cameroon territory. Also see figure 2., p.41.

in Central Africa "as a pillar of German world power".<sup>12</sup> Cameroon must have been earmarked for that purpose. By 1906, Cameroon rulers had almost all yielded to German military might and were prepared to meet Government demands. Imperial economic activities (trade, plantations, forest exploitation etc) were developing and the need for Cameroonian clerical and technical assistants became compelling. This required educated Cameroonians. Since education was left only to the Missions and Mission education was found inadequate for such purposes, it became necessary for the Government to consider a frame-work for educational development.

Meanwhile, the appointment of Bernhardt Dernburg as minister for colonies might have contributed to the post-1907 reforms. German colonial policies from the appointment of Dernburg shifted from hard-faced exploitation to more progressive development. However the desire for African assistants coupled with the apprehension nursed about the propensity of educated Africans to revolt, induced the Government to contemplate policies which could control the education provided by Missions. An education conference was held in 1907 which was followed up in 1910 by an ordinance<sup>13</sup> that provided the German colonial policy for education.

### **The 1907 Conference and 1910 Education Ordinance.**

The conference marked the actual beginning of German concern for education in Cameroon. It was presided over by Governor Seitz.<sup>14</sup> The issues discussed ranged from the structure of the curriculum, the language of instruction, the harmonisation of standards in all schools, collaboration between Government and Missions, financing, school age, school attendance, school discipline to vocational education.

The resolutions of the meeting were embodied in the ordinance of 25 April 1910. The ordinance also established Government control over all education in the territory.<sup>15</sup> It was the first legal agreement between Government and Missions for utilizing the institutional structure of Missions to implement Government policy for education in

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<sup>12</sup>Lakowski R., in Stoecker, H., (ed) op. cit. pp.379-418.

<sup>13</sup>Madiba E., op. cit. pp. 26-40. Also see Shu, S.N., op. cit. p.80. and Rudin, H., op. cit. p.357-359.

<sup>14</sup>He was governor from 1907 to 1910.

<sup>15</sup>Shu S.N., op. cit. p.80.

Cameroon. The ordinance ushered in the beginning of Government financing of those Mission schools that satisfied Government regulations. It was the first major attempt by Government to interfere with school curricula, and it imposed the teaching of the German language upon subventioned schools.

All educational establishments were placed under the authority of the governor.<sup>16</sup> This ended Mission autonomy in educational matters, thereby giving Government a means of policing the dangers of a backlash arising from uncontrolled education. This measure confirmed the primacy of political factors in the emergent colonial situation as argued by Memmi.<sup>17</sup>

But the resistance of the Missionaries to the colonial Government's decisions supports the argument that concerted Government/Mission action was not always possible.<sup>18</sup> The problem of the language of instruction in schools was also tackled. The persistent use of the English language by the military and the traders for over two decades of German rule was now seen as a threat to the regime. Since this was a period of economic and naval rivalry between Germany and Great Britain, the popularity of the English language with its political/cultural ramifications could not be tolerated. The ordinance, therefore, imposed the use of German while forbidding the use of all other European languages. This was aimed at strengthening the political authority of the regime, safeguarding the acquired territory from other colonizing powers and establishing the predominance of German culture.

The administration was also sensitive to the Douala people who occasionally rebelled against the government for not respecting the treaty of annexation. Consequently, the ordinance limited the geographical coverage of the Douala language to the Douala region. The Basel Mission had adopted this language for education and evangelisation in the forest zone. But the Government felt that the spread of the language could eventually instigate the speakers to join them in revolting. Similarly, the influence of Fon Fonyonga

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<sup>16</sup>ibid. See article 2 of the ordinance.

<sup>17</sup>Clignet R., "Damned if you do, damned if you don't. The dilemmas of coloniser-colonised relations" in *Comparative Education Review*, 15., 1., 1971., see discussion in chapter one.

<sup>18</sup>ibid. p.301.



I of Bali in the western Grassfields where the Mission was equally using *Mungakaa*, the Bali language, posed another threat to the Government. The refusal by the Fon to return 2.000 German guns<sup>19</sup> given to his army, to assist in the conquest of recalcitrant groups in the region, led the Government to believe that the spread of the language could eventually mobilise the region against the regime.<sup>20</sup> An alliance between Bali and the neighbouring kingdom of Bafut was a possibility to be reckoned with. However, although the argument advanced against the use of a local language was to prevent the spread of revolts, it is obvious that patriotic interests for the establishment of German culture was an underpinning factor.

The language policy promoted by the Government marked the beginning of a serious crisis concerning the language of instruction in Cameroon schools which persists today. It was also the beginning of a disagreement between the state and the Missionary societies. The Missions felt that evangelisation could only be effective through local languages. Some Germans argued that extensive teaching of the German language would lead to linguistic homogeneity of Cameroonians which could be potentially disastrous for colonial rule.<sup>21</sup> They held that

...the propagation of the German language could become a threat... as in a manner one rears a conceited, presumptuous and easily dissatisfied breed, for the natives learn from the Europeans much that is damaging and are tempted, when they speak the language of the Europeans, to place themselves on equal footing.<sup>22</sup>

Fear of educated Africans having access to information on anti-colonial doctrines, such

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<sup>19</sup>Chilver E.M., *Zintgraff's Explorations in Bamenda, Adamawa and the Benue lands, 1889-1892*. Buea, Government Press., 1966.

<sup>20</sup>The naïve response of the Germans to the Douala revolts and the independent attitude of the Bali show how little the Germans knew of language habits in their colony. In the Grassfields multilingualism was common and reinforced by the internal slave trade and marriage into the family of trade partners. Special note can also be taken of the polyglot slaves of the Douala.

<sup>21</sup>Wolfgang H., "Education Policy" in Stoecker H., (ed), *German imperialism in Africa: from the beginning until the Second World War*, New Jersey, Hurst and Company., 1986, chapter 7., p. 224.

<sup>22</sup>ibid.

as the *Simplicissimus* documents published by the German Social Democrats,<sup>23</sup> influenced the shaping of the policy. German intellectuals are said to have warned that the propagation of European languages in the colonies was a policy with very dubious consequences. They argued that the absence of major uprisings in Cameroon and German East Africa as opposed to the situation in German South West Africa, resulted from language heterogeneity which hindered united action. He contended that by introducing a European language, "...not only do we provide the people with the means to reach an understanding..., but we furthermore offer them the best tool for revolutionary propaganda...."<sup>24</sup> These arguments were against the popular concept of the universality of the colonial situation. It becomes evident that there were divided interests and a wide variety of attitudes on the question of educating Africans both in the colony and in Germany itself.

The language policy and the absence of mass education tended to perpetuate patterns of domination while exerting psychological pressures on the people. Learning in an alien language inevitably led to inferiority complex and lack self confidence and also introduced elements of psychological domination, as Mannoni argued.<sup>25</sup>

The ordinance also emphasized school attendance because of the widely fluctuating attendance of pupils at many Mission schools. The school board had to grant permission before any pupil could leave prematurely. The problem of irregular attendance and early departure from school might seem to contradict the view that Cameroonians welcomed education. But this could be explained by the insecurity created when the administration occasionally recruited school pupils for forced labour either for the regime or for the German plantations or compelled them to work as porters to the German traders in the hinterland. Some of the pupils and parents were also discouraged by the flogging

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<sup>23</sup>ibid p.225. *Simplicissimus* was a satirical newspaper rather resembling the French, *Le canard enchainé*.

<sup>24</sup>ibid. Wolfgang particularly mentioned Carl Meinhof, a linguist. see p. 225.

<sup>25</sup>Mannoni O., *Psychology of Colonisation*., Paris, 1950., translation by Prospero and Caliban, London, Mathuen, 1956. See chapter one.

at school.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, the regulations for Mission schools receiving Government grants stipulated that in case of departure without permission, the parent or guardian with whom the pupil was identified could be sentenced to a fine of 50 German marks, and in case of repeated absences, the parent had to receive a flogging in accordance with the Imperial decree of 22 April 1896.<sup>27</sup> This typically authoritarian and brutal regulation supports Mannoni's notion that colonial education exerted psychological pressures, in this case by treating "the natives" as naughty children.

The ordinance instituted the administration of German language examination in Mission schools. The examination was used to determine the distribution of Government subsidies to the Mission schools, so Mission schools aspiring for Government subsidies had to conform with the prescribed requirements. An official syllabus was attached which schools had to follow. The ordinance stressed the fact that subsidies for Mission schools were bound to be in relation to the number of candidates appearing on the pass lists of the official German language examination conducted at the end of every year.

An examination board was established in each district with a senior Government official appointed by the Governor as the chairman and two non-official members chosen from the Missions. To ensure regular attendance, eligibility for the examination depended on at least 150 days attendance in the school year preceding entry to the examination. The task of ensuring adequate preparation and established eligibility rested on the respective schools.

From the policy prescription, it is evident that the Government deliberately asserted itself in matters of educational development through the attachment of financial incentives and by coercion whenever necessary. These inducements must not necessarily be seen as favour because, besides the desire to train competent Cameroonians for the colonial service, the Government was perturbed by the domination of the English language

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<sup>26</sup>The researcher's father was refused schooling by his own father because the first son had been flogged at school. As a noble in the community, it was unacceptable that his son should be beaten by a stranger. Hence he prevented all his own children from going to school.

<sup>27</sup>Madiba E., Op. cit. p.39.

in a German colony.<sup>28</sup> However, the reform also coincides with the positive changes in German colonial policies that have been credited to Bernhardt Dernburg when he became minister for colonies. The role of education in promoting German culture and the impact of the culture struggle, the *Kulturkampf*, in Germany at the time, further underpin the rationale for this shift in education policy.

The syllabus and curriculum guide that followed the ordinance further illustrate German colonial policy orientation. The syllabus for Mission schools was issued six months after the signature of the ordinance. It was seemingly influenced by Christaller's syllabus proposal of 1892. The five years course for elementary education was maintained. The first year's work was essentially devoted to reading, writing and number work. In the second year, these subjects were retained except for number work, and to them were added grammar or language, arithmetic, factual knowledge and singing. In the third year, speech-training and bible history were added to the subjects brought forward from the second year. Then in the fourth year, they had reading, writing, language, arithmetic, factual knowledge, singing and bible history. In the final year, German, arithmetic, factual knowledge, singing and bible history were taught while drawing and sports or gymnastics were optional.<sup>29</sup>

The first course prescribed six hours a week comprising two hours of reading and writing German speech sounds in German or Latin characters. Two further hours were allocated to self expression based on objects in the classroom, parts of the body, and pictures. Finally two hours were allocated to number work or arithmetic based on numbers ranging from one to twenty and eventually reaching 100.

The fifth course, which was the final year, had a week's load of ten hours. Four hours were allocated to reading and writing with practice in the reading of harder German extracts and narrations in German language and dialogue. There was also the

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<sup>28</sup>Fohtung M., who completed schooling in 1908 and taught with the Basel Mission before working with two German firms as a book-keeper. He informed the researcher that even the German administration had to use English with Cameroonians. Chilver stated in an interview (March 1995) that a pidgin-English phrase book circulated among officials and German trading agents. See "Self-Portrait of a Cameroonian" in *Paideuma*, 38., 1992.

<sup>29</sup>Shu, op. cit., pp. 93-95.

memorization of patriotic German poems. Essay and letter writing were taught during this period, together with autobiographical accounts, dictation exercises based on hard passages without punctuation marks and the memorization of grammatical rules. Three hours were allocated to arithmetic or number work based on fractions and decimals, proportions and percentages. One hour was given to history of the German empire since the Franco-Prussian war and German emperors since the war. Then, one hour was given to early-science or geography involving a deepening knowledge of Germany, the importance of Europe, names and locations of the continents, the earth as a planet, the zones of the earth, land and sea, causes of day and night, rainy and dry seasons. The last hour was allocated to natural science covering the importance of minerals, plant and animal kingdoms, the atmosphere, the barometer, thermometer, simple machines or simple mechanical appliances.<sup>30</sup>

Except in the fourth year where one period a week was allocated to the teaching of local climate, local animals and local plants, the entire syllabus neglected environmental studies which ought to have formed the core of the curriculum.<sup>31</sup> Thus, the stress was on Germanic studies ranging from a full coverage of language study, the geography of Germany and Europe, to the glorious histories of German conquest. Inevitably, such a curriculum sought to establish the economic and political supremacy of the Germans. There was nothing on hygiene or health and physical education. Local languages were neglected and the German language was treated as the pupils' first language. The policy of teaching patriotic German songs and memorizing German patriotic poems ultimately aimed at creating and inculcating the notion that the German culture was at a higher level and should replace that of the Cameroonians. This notion was internalized and when the British and the French replaced the Germans, the tendency was for Cameroonians to continuously seek to master European exotic cultures at the expense of their own.

The official syllabus content largely contradicted the objectives of Missionary education and the Missions only reluctantly accepted the syllabus because of the financial subventions. However the Protestant Missions which had insisted on the language policy

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<sup>30</sup>ibid., pp. 93-97.

<sup>31</sup>ibid.

welcomed the regulations on infant education because it suited their desire to prepare their converts to read the Bible. Although Bible studies was left out in Government schools, the Missions were allowed to add religious knowledge to their curriculum. Undoubtedly, given the same duration as other regimes, the German culture would have left a significant imprint.

### **Government Schools:**

During the three decades of German rule in Cameroon, there were only five schools provided by the Government. These schools were located strategically at either administrative or commercial towns in order to provide the administrative and technical assistants required. The first Government school was opened in King Bell's town at Bonabela in Douala in 1888. King Bell's readiness to house and assist the first Government teacher, Christaller, seem to have influenced the location.

In Douala the two banks of the Wouri estuary had two rival potentates who both requested schools during the signing of the annexation treaty in July 1884. In order to have the collaboration of both rulers, and because the commercial and administrative requirements of the town required more pro-western educated people, it became prudent to open a second school in Douala, but this time at Bonanjo in 1890.

Commercial and administrative reasons also led the Government to open the third school in Victoria about 100 miles west of Douala in 1897. The delay in establishing a Government school in this commercial town until 1897 might be explained by the delayed departure of the British Government and the British Baptist Missionary society. This Mission already had schools in the area which were handed over to the Basel Mission. Thus the German colonial administration thought it wasteful to duplicate them immediately with another school.

The fourth school was established in 1906 at Garoua in the north of the country. Here, economic interests were not as significant as strategic considerations aimed at forestalling potential expansion of rival colonial powers: the French from French Equatorial Africa in the east and the British from Nigeria in the West (figure 2, page 41). If those two powers were not blocked, German Cameroon could have lost access to Lake

Chad.<sup>32</sup> It was therefore important to establish a Government school in the north to raise up a pro-German elite population. In contradistinction to the coastal area where Missionary societies had opened schools, the Government, like the British in Nigeria, had refused Missionaries access to this predominantly Muslim zone.

The fifth and last German colonial school was opened in 1906 in Yaounde which proved to be another potential trading area especially in ivory and had considerable human resources that could serve in a range of economic and military activities. The proximity of this area to the Congo basin where there was serious colonial rivalry by the major imperialist powers, required measures to protect German Cameroon from intrusion. Thus schooling here was necessary to create a pro-German interest. The distribution of German schools conformed therefore with imperial interests. The few schools were enough to raise the number of Cameroonians they required to serve the administration.

These Government schools served as models for the Mission schools to copy. Priority was given to the children of the African ruling and trading class. This is evident in the choice of King Bell's town for the establishment of the first school and the priority given to the royal house to register before anybody else. In Garoua the Lamibe's<sup>33</sup> sons were given preference. The priority given to children of the ruling class introduced the idea that education was for those in power and for the rich. This notion attracted those in power to use education in sustaining their positions and encouraged those of low social order to improve on their status. The schools also induced the pupils to appreciate the values of German culture while the Missions upheld Christian culture in general.<sup>34</sup> Indisputably, this strategy established a local bourgeoisie and induced existing influential authorities to support German rule and sustain its interests.

Therefore, the interest shown in the education of influential families must not be

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<sup>32</sup>From figure 1 and 2 on pages 37 and 41 respectively, British pressure from the west and the French from the east narrowed the territory around the fertile basin of Lake Chad. German decision to surrender Morocco for "greater Cameroon" *Neo Kamerun* was particularly to gain more land around Lake Chad basin., also see more in Rudin, chapters 2 and 3.

<sup>33</sup>Lamibee is the plural of Lamido, a traditional ruler in the predominantly Muslim northern region of Cameroon.

<sup>34</sup>Madiba E., op. cit.p.32.

confused with a desire to prepare Cameroonians for self-rule. The 1910 conference stated that Government schools were not meant to satisfy the needs of the colonized but to train assistant workers to serve as intermediaries between the colonial authorities and the colonized population. Undoubtedly, educated Cameroonians were less expensive to the colonial service than recruited junior staff from the metropolis. The demand for educated Africans caused the Government to request each pupil to sign a service bond.<sup>35</sup>

At the 1910 Colonial Congress the consensus was for the colonized to be kept under control and command.<sup>36</sup> It was generally agreed that German colonial education be directed to the imposition of German authority in order to create a peaceful and welcoming atmosphere in which German civilization could flourish. The concepts of obedience, loyalty, devotion to work and respect to the colonial Government could be seen therefore as facilitating principles for exploitation. This was made clear by Dernburg even before he became minister. To him, German colonial policies had to aim at exploiting the soil and human resources of the colonies for the benefit of Germany in return for the superior culture, moral concepts and improved working system they had to offer.<sup>37</sup> According to him, colonial exploitation was better than slave labour and as such Africans had to be grateful and serve with gratitude.

These attitudes substantiate the argument for political, economic and psychological determinism of colonial situations discussed in chapter one.<sup>38</sup> Rudin rather perspicaciously remarked that the Germans were franker than others about their objectives. But the fact that a United Germany was a new creation, and many were excited with the forms of nationalism and expansionism cannot be overlooked. However, the situation with Government schools was not very different in the Mission schools.

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<sup>35</sup>Fohtung M., op. cit.

<sup>36</sup>GA.ZSTA, DKG. 992, p. 33.

<sup>37</sup>ibid., p. 34 .

<sup>38</sup> See the discussion in Chapter One.



**Missionary Societies and the development of Education:**

By 1914 when the war started, there were five Missionary societies in Cameroon. Four of them were of German origin while one was from the United States of America. Only one of them, the Gosnier Mission that arrived in December 1913, was not yet involved with the provision of schools. The four Missions with schools following the sequence of their arrival were: the American Presbyterian Mission, the Basel Mission, the Catholic Pallotine Mission and the German Baptist Mission. This section examines the development of education by these Missions to highlight the autonomy they exercised until 1910 and the impact on schooling. It also discusses the disparities in Mission education and the effects of the disagreements between the Missions on the Cameroonian adherents and traditional authorities.

The American Presbyterian Mission arrived Cameroon in 1885 and worked mostly amongst the Batanga and Bulu people in the south-west. Some of their chief stations included Batanga, Lolodorf, Efulan, Elat, Fulasi, Metek and Yebekole.<sup>39</sup> In these stations they opened schools. At the beginning the educational institutions were slow to develop but there was a rapid expansion towards the war as table 2.1 illustrates:

Table 2.1: Enrolment in American Presbyterian Mission Schools.

Year	Enrolment
1901	688
1905	1,113
1909	5,060
1912	9,213
1913	10,827
1914	16,697

Sources: C.B.M.S. Archives, Box 276, File A, "West Africa, Cameroons during the First World War".

A report from the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of March 1916 indicates that enrolment in Presbyterian Mission schools at the end of the German rule stood as on table 2.2.

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<sup>39</sup>Mbala-Owona R., *L'École Coloniale au Cameroun: approche Historico-Sociologique*, Yaounde, Imprimerie Nationale, 1986, p.18.

Table 2. 2: Number of schools and enrolment per centre.

Station	No. of schools	Enrolment
Efulan	34	2,676
Elat and Fulassi	98	8,152
Maclean	31	6,242
Mete and Yebekole	43	4,227
Total	43	16,697

Source: CBMS Archives, Box 276, File A, West Africa, Cameroons

The Mission developed Bulu which is the lingua-franca of the Beti people of the central African region. Bulu and English were then used as languages of instruction. Till today many English words have become adopted into the Bulu language such as "*Kitchen* and *Sunday*." The Mission had a seminary headed by a European for training teachers and evangelists. By 1914 there were three African instructors and 39 student-teachers. They opened the Frank James industrial school in 1908, for vocational training which remained very popular and important until 1945.<sup>40</sup>

The Mission developed very good relations with the people but had a major problem of satisfying their demand for schools. The imposition of the German language as the only medium of instruction in schools from 1911 made it difficult for the Mission to recruit competent Missionaries to cope with the provision of schools. The language policy also strained the relationship with the colonial administration. It was not until 1913 that they agreed to stop teaching in English and the local language.

The Basel Mission was the second to establish following German annexation. It was selected by German protestants with the approval of the German imperial Government to replace the British Baptist Mission in Cameroon. It therefore inherited all the British Baptist schools and Missionary activities although some of the local Baptists did not take long to pull out and form what became known as the "Native Baptist Church." The Mission expanded very rapidly and was expected to serve as the main agent for colonial education. Until 1910, the colonial administration relied on them to develop

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<sup>40</sup>ibid., p. 18.

education. Since this Mission will be examined in chapters six and seven, it is important here to state just the outline growth as it affected education.

By 1914, the Mission had 19 main stations spread in many parts of the coastal and western regions. There were 384 elementary schools with an enrolment of 22,818 pupils comprising 20,993 boys and 1,825 girls.<sup>41</sup> They also had 16 higher elementary schools with an enrolment of 1,748 pupils. The total number of teachers was 409. They offered vocational and technical education at Akwadorf and Douala. Both centres were headed by European instructors. Meanwhile, teachers were trained initially at Victoria, then at Buea and later on at Nyasoso. At the outbreak of the war, there were 53 student-teachers in training.<sup>42</sup> They improved on the Douala language which the British Baptists had turned into written form and adopted it for school instruction in the forest region. They developed *Mungakaa*, for similar use in the western Grass-fields. Both languages were used for education and evangelisation and survived the whole colonial period. Their relationship with the people was good. They intervened very often on behalf of the people against the excesses of colonial agents and labour recruiters. Meanwhile they disagreed with some aspects of the people's culture, such as polygamy and expensive funeral rituals.

The Catholic Pallotine Mission followed in 1890. The late arrival was probably because in 1849 the Papacy placed the Cameroon area within Central African territories and assigned it to the Holy Ghost Fathers. The headquarters was in Gabon. They delayed in starting in Cameroon until German annexation. Thereafter, the Germans refused non-German Missionaries in the colony. The *Kulturkampf* policy and ban on Jesuits in Germany further hindered them from setting up a Missionary society. The success of the Catholic Party in securing the law of April 1887 which re-integrated them in educational activities opened the way for activities in the colonies.

In 1889 the Papacy and the German Government agreed on a German Catholic Missionary Society in Cameroon on condition that the head of the Mission remained, at all time, a German appointed in consultation with the German imperial Government. Such

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<sup>41</sup>CBMS Archives, Box 276.

<sup>42</sup>Shu S.N., op. cit. p. 46.

a condition suggested the search for safeguard on political grounds. It was also agreed that the imperial Government should have the authority to inspect and monitor Catholic schools. The Propaganda Fide authorised the Pallotine Fathers who had a majority of German membership even though the founder was Italian. They were established at Marienberg (1890), Kribi and Edea (1891), Engelberg (1894), Douala (1898), Grand Batanga (1900), Yaounde-Mvolye (1900), Ikassa (1906) Einsieldehen (1907), Victoria (1908).<sup>43</sup> Initially, they faced demands from the Basel Mission not to establish themselves near their existing stations. In fact, their arrival ushered in the inter-denominational rivalry in Cameroon which has outlived the colonial period.

The creation of each Mission station was followed by the establishment of a school. But the number of schools was eventually reduced because of many drop-outs. The Mission even employed Government assistance to control the high rate of drop-out in schools. The head of the Pallotine Mission, Mgr. Vieter reported to Van Oertzen, the colonial Administrator for Kribi district, who, in turn, punished the parents of the pupils by requesting them to do heavy unpaid manual labour (*njongmasi*) on road construction work. It is reported that for the sake of a pupil, the mother's punishment lasted for fourteen days.<sup>44</sup>

Generally, the Pallotine Fathers collaborated better with the colonial administration and were preferred to the Protestants.<sup>45</sup> Unlike the Basel Mission which disagreed with the administration on language policy the Pallotine Fathers, especially under Mgr. Vieter's leadership, considered the inculcation of German language and culture in Cameroon as a German national duty. During a toast in January 1905, he said:

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<sup>43</sup>Booth B.F., "A Comparative Study of Mission and Government involvement in Educational Development in West Cameroon 1922-1969". Ph.D. UCLA, 1973. Also see: Ndi, A., "Mill Hill Missionaries and State in Southern Cameroon, 1922-1962" Ph.D. London, 1983.

<sup>44</sup>Bureau R., "Ethno-Sociologie des Douala et apparentés" in *Recherches et Etudes Camerounaises*, No.7-8, Yaounde, 1962, pp. 84-85.

<sup>45</sup>Booth B.F., op. cit. p. 34.

...thanks to the important co-operation between the State and the Church, we have had good results in Cameroon. We wish it to continue like that in the future and that no misunderstanding should arise between the two powers to disturb further achievements.<sup>46</sup>

Their good relations with the colonial administration was expressed especially on the language policy. This collaboration enabled the Mission to expand rapidly with the support of the Government. Their relationship with the administration guaranteed the admission of another Catholic congregation - the Sittard Fathers or Priests of the Sacred Heart into the territory and gave them the opportunity of starting Missionary activities in the Muslim dominated north. The Pallotine Fathers remained in the south where they had 204 schools and a total enrolment of 19,576 pupils under 223 teachers.<sup>47</sup>

In June 1912, Adamawa was assigned to the Priests of Sacred Heart. The first Sacred Heart Missionaries arrived in Douala in 1912 led by F.J. Lennartz. The party included two priests and four lay brothers. They founded stations in Shishong, Kumbo and Njinikom. The Shishong Fathers were, properly, the Sacerdotes Cordis Jesu (S.J.C.) and are distinct from other similarly named orders. Sometimes they are referred to as the Dehonians after their founder, Mgr. Dehon. The school in Shishong had 100 pupils while Nkar, Tabinken and Njinikom were just starting when the war nipped them in the bud.

The Catholic Mission did not promote post-elementary education. They had only one higher elementary school by 1911.<sup>48</sup> However, they excelled in vocational education where a wide range of training was given in agriculture, black-smithing, shoe-making, tailoring, carpentry, brickmaking and bricklaying. By 1914, they had 259 manual arts instructors in vocational centres and 233 teachers in the elementary schools.<sup>49</sup>

The German Baptist Mission arrived in 1891. They had many organisational and internal problems that prevented them from expanding rapidly in education when

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<sup>46</sup>Cited in Mbala-Owona R., op. cit. p. 17.

<sup>47</sup>GA. ZSTA., Missionstatistik des Apostol. Vikariats von Kamerun aufgefertigt am 31 Dez 1913.

<sup>48</sup>Shu S.N., op. cit. p. 46.

<sup>49</sup>ibid .

compared with other Missions. Their decision to come to Cameroon resulted from an appeal by Alfred Bell, a Cameroon student in Germany who in 1889 described the problems that Baptists in Cameroon were suffering following the departure of the British Baptists, to a congregation of German Baptists. He entreated the congregation with a pathetic narration of the schism between the Basel Mission and local Baptists in 1888. This appeal evoked the sympathy of German Baptists.<sup>50</sup> But although this Missionary society was German, the majority of the Missionaries including the pioneer leader, August Steffens, were Americans of German origin.<sup>51</sup> At their arrival, the Native Baptist Church had 442 communicant members and two schools with 634 pupils.<sup>52</sup>

It was not long after their arrival that a conflict of authority developed between Suvern, one of the Missionaries, and Joshua Dibundi, the leader of the Native Baptist church. The disagreement led to another split in 1897.<sup>53</sup> This affected their educational efforts. The German Baptists opened stations at Bonakwasi (Abo) in 1892, Nyamtan in 1907, Ndongongi in the Banen region in 1908, Ngambe in 1910 and Ndumba in 1914. By 1914, they had 57 elementary schools with an enrolment of 3,151 pupils in six main stations located at Douala, Ndumba, Nyamtan, Ndongongi, Ngambe and Soppo.<sup>54</sup> They also had three post-elementary schools in Douala, a middle school for girls under two European Missionary school mistresses admitting 10 to 15 girls each year, and another for boys under two European teachers where 50 students were registered in the 1913/14 school year.<sup>55</sup> For a joint training of their teachers and evangelists, they established a seminary.

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<sup>50</sup>Weber C.W., *International Influences and Baptist Mission in West Cameroon: German-American Missionary endeavour under the International Mandate and British Colonialism*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1993. This is the thrust of Weber's thesis.

<sup>51</sup>ibid;

<sup>52</sup>Donat R., *Das wachsende Werk: Ausbreitung der deutschen Baptisten-Gemeinden durch sechzig Jahre (1849 bis 1909)*.

<sup>53</sup>ibid. p. 51.

<sup>54</sup>CBMS Archives., Box 276;" West Africa, Cameroons during the First World War".

<sup>55</sup>Shu S.N., op. cit. p. 47.

Although the Baptists did not have many schools, they were more involved with quality education. Of all the early Baptist Missionaries in Cameroon, Carl Bender, an American, wielded enormous influence and recorded the longest serving period. He was the only Missionary in the country, who by virtue of his American nationality, stayed during the war until 1919. He served from 1904 to 1919 and 1929 to 1935.<sup>56</sup>

These were the Missionary societies that provided education during the German rule. Each Mission designed its own school structure and curriculum. When compared to Government educational efforts an incredibly wide difference is observed as shown on tables 2.3 and 2.4.

Table 2. 3:Mission schools and enrolments.

Missions	No. of schools	Enrolment
American Presbyterians	97	6,545
Basel Mission	319	17,833
Pallotine Catholics	151	12,532
German Baptists	57	3,151
Total	624	40,061

Source: Kaiserlichen Statistischen Amte: Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich 1910-1931.

Table 2. 4: Number and enrolment in Government Schools.

School	Enrolment
Government School Douala	362
Government School Victoria	257
Government School Yaounde	160
Government School Garoua	54
Total	833

Source: Kaiserlichen Statistischen Amte: Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich 1910-1931. Also see Shu S.N. op. cit. p.53.

<sup>56</sup>Weber C.N., op. cit. p. 18.

All schools in Cameroon numbered 628 having a total of 40,894 pupils by 1913. The estimated population of school age population for that year was 529,722.<sup>57</sup> Thus the percentage at school was just 7.7 per cent. But there was a remarkable increase at the beginning of 1914 when the war broke out. The number of schools increased to 789 and the number of pupils stood at 57,195 with 56,372 in Mission schools alone. Whereas the Government had no higher elementary school, the Missions together provided 24 of such schools with an enrolment of 1,919 under 71 teachers.<sup>58</sup>

There is no doubt that the tempo of educational expansion towards the end of the German regime was accelerated by the financial motivations introduced through grants from 1911 onwards as shown on table 2.5.

Table 2.5: Government subsidies.

Year	Amount in marks
1911	20,000
1912	20,000
1913	30,000
1914	60,000

Source: Rudin H., op. cit. p.358.

The financial assistance enhanced the achievement of the targeted diffusion of the German language. Some of the Missions were initially unwilling to apply the language policy but the grants enticed them. The number of pupils passing the German language examination increased rapidly as illustrated below:

Table 2.6: Successes in German language exams.

Year	No. of successful candidates.
1910	1,914
1911	4,828
1912	7,284

Source: Shu S.N., op. cit. p.52.

The increasing number of candidates passing the examination also indicated the extent of German cultural influence. In 1913, the increase in the grants to Missions for the teaching of German caused even the American Presbyterian Mission, which had resisted the

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<sup>57</sup>GA. ZSTA., Kaiserlichen Statistischen Amte: Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich 1910-1931.

<sup>58</sup>Shu S.N., op. cit.



Government’s language policy, to succumb.<sup>59</sup> The ban on the use of the English Language on 31 March 1913, finally left the Missions with no alternative.<sup>60</sup> These developments urged the colonial administration to propose yet another increase in the 1914/1915 financial year which unfortunately was aborted by the war.

The role of Government officials in monitoring the application of the Government syllabuses and conducting the examinations had significant impact on education. It stopped the anarchy in Mission schools and made educational provision uniform in structure and in content. This was similar to the state control in Germany. It marked the beginning of collaboration between the Missions and Government in education.

The collaboration had negative effects on Cameroonians because those Missions which had earlier defended Cameroonian interests against imperial impositions and exploitation tended to relent their efforts. All the Missions yielded to the language policy, thereby neglecting the Cameroonian languages they had developed. By and large, Missions became, in effect, agents of the colonial regime.

All Mission schools adopted Government time-tables covering five years schooling with at least 150 days attendance per year at the rate of at least six hours per week on prescribed subjects for the first year, eight hours per week for the second year and 10 hours per week for the last three years as on table 2.7

Table 2.7: Timetable for Mission Schools.

Subjects	Year One	Year Two	Year Three	Year Four	Year Five
German	2 hours	3 hours	4 hours	4 hours	4 hours
Science of Observation	2 hours	2 hours	2 hours	-	-
Arithmetic	2 hours	2 hours	3 hours	3 hours	3 hours
Geography	-	-	1 hour	1 hour	1 hour
History	-	-	-	1 hour	1 hour
Natural science	-	-	-	1 hour	1 hour
Total	6 hours	8 hours	10 hours	10 hours	10 hours

Source: Booth B.F., op. cit. p.42.

<sup>59</sup>Booth B.F., op. cit. p. 43.

<sup>60</sup>Rudin H., op. cit. p. 358.

Each Mission was allowed to fill the blank spaces on the time-table with subjects of their choice. Ultimately, all Missions added religious knowledge and agriculture while some added local languages. Some added crafts such as cabinet making, tailoring, cookery, weaving.<sup>61</sup>

The length of time allocated to the subjects reflected areas of interests. The German language had maximum time and was taught through a wide range of subjects even in the early stages of schooling. It was taught through reading, writing, drawing, songs and poems. In the third year it was used as the language of instruction. Thus Government's objective to establish German culture became effective.

The general level of education provided was primary. A few graduates of elementary schools continued in vocational schools and teacher-training institutions. Secondary education did not exist. Anybody opting for higher education had to go to Germany or Switzerland. Cameroonians studied in Germany in the fields of medicine, teacher-training, theology and law.<sup>62</sup> For example, Prince Douala Manga Bell and Mpondo Akwa studied general education, Prince Alexander Bell studied medicine and Prince Rudolf Douala Bell studied law.<sup>63</sup> Others included Sosiga of Bali and Joseph Ekolo.

Wolfgang, claims that until 1918 not a single African from a German colony was permitted to attend a German university.<sup>64</sup> He states that the Germans did not allow Africans to study in Germany. He quoted a response to an American institution's request for information on Germans' experience in educating Africans in Germany, which stated that

...the influence of civilization was injurious to their character and their future existence in the protectorate.

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<sup>61</sup>ibid. p. 360.

<sup>62</sup>Booth B.F., op. cit. p. 44

<sup>63</sup>ibid.

<sup>64</sup>Wolfgang M., op. cit. p. 218

He also states that some Cameroonians of Douala origin and some Togolese who attempted to continue their education in Germany had "a negative assessment by the administration".<sup>65</sup> It is difficult, with the evidence from Cameroon, to believe that Cameroonians were wholly cut off from study travel. However, Wolfgang's statement might refer to university studies and not all institutions (*Technische Hochschulen*). Moreover, the German officer who replied might have been avoiding a potential debate on "colonial subjects". Nevertheless, the quotations provide further evidence of divided interests and attitudes towards colonial education.

German universities were particularly interested in colonial study and research. The universities of Hamburg and Berlin created chairs for the study of African cultures and languages. Cameroonians were invited to Germany to lecture on their language and customs. For example, Peter Makembe lectured at the university of Hamburg in 1891 on the language and customs of the Douala people.<sup>66</sup> This was probably encouraged by the profound interest and preeminence of the German scholars in philology.

It was in vocational education that the Germans excelled. Technical education was of two kinds. There were trade schools in Douala and Yaounde established by the Missions to teach bricklaying, tailoring, bread-making, cabinet making and farming. Then there were vocational and agricultural schools opened by the Government in Buea and Dschang. The Buea school had a similar curriculum to the Mission trade schools where carpentry, printing, and cabinet-making were taught. The structure and theoretical level of the technical education given was not aimed at creative or inventive abilities.

A higher technical centre was started in Victoria in 1910<sup>67</sup> where graduates of Mission and Government elementary schools were admitted. The duration was three years after which the graduates were bonded to the Government for five years as agricultural assistants.<sup>68</sup> Teacher training was provided exclusively by the various Missions. There was no Government teacher training college throughout the German period. The teacher

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<sup>65</sup>ibid. p. 228.

<sup>66</sup>ibid p. 45.

<sup>67</sup>Rudin H., op. cit.p. 253

<sup>68</sup>ibid., p. 253.

training centres served the dual purpose of training teachers and evangelists and in many cases the same person was trained to perform both functions.

Adult education was also carried out by the Missions. But it was structured more for religious purposes and organized as Sunday schools for the protestants and catechism classes for the Catholics. Health centres were also located at the Mission stations which pulled a lot of people and gave the opportunity for the Missionaries to give basic formal and informal education to enhance evangelisation.

Female Missionaries and wives of Missionaries took active roles in teaching Cameroon women about hygiene, domestic science, house craft and child welfare. The Government did not emphasize female education. The low enrolment of girls in schools was associated with Cameroon culture which allegedly prohibited female exposure. While this might be true in the Muslim dominated areas and in some of the centralized states, it was not true in all the societies. The argument that bride price *per se* hindered parents from sending their children to school is not true of all societies because even today, there are communities where bride price remains unknown.

Under the governorship of Puttkamer soldiers were asked to raid and capture people for colonial services. The male were engaged on forced labour while the female were sometimes retained for the pleasure of Europeans and soldiers.<sup>69</sup> Consequently, parents became protective of their children, especially girls. It can also be argued that since the sort of economic activities for which the administrators wanted educated Cameroonians suited only men, female education was neglected. Additionally, distant schools were considered risky for girls.

To conclude, German colonial education policy aimed at strengthening the economic and political ascendancy of the Germans over Cameroonians. Cultural influence through education was minimal because of the late and short-lived imposition of imperial control. The harshness and ruthlessness of the German rule left psychological impact on those who went through the education system and discouraged others. However, German

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<sup>69</sup>Rudin H., op. cit. pp. 305-306. In 1908 the Catholic Bishop in Cameroon complained about European conduct with Cameroon girls. This followed an earlier petition by Cameroonians to the Reichstag in 1905.

education policy was brief (1910 -1914) and the scope of education was very limited, with just 57,195 pupils in schools by 1914 out of a population of 2,648,610.<sup>70</sup> Besides, the Missions had 56,372 pupils while the Government had only 823 pupils. Thus with less than two per cent of the school age population at school, it was not possible for education to have a significant impact on the people. Worse still, the number of Cameroonians graduating with any knowledge of German culture, if assessed from those who passed the language examination, was almost insignificant. Apparently, if the German rule had lasted longer, there would have been a greater impact on the attitudes of Cameroonians because of the central role that the Government started engaging. However, Cameroonians' determination to use education as a means of self-advancement must be considered as an important factor that led to the acceptance of the education provided under the German regime. Interest in education and German culture increased despite the ruthlessness of the regime. Finally, the Missionary societies strengthened colonial education by attracting Cameroonians to this new source of knowledge.

The next chapter will examine the French colonial education policy in Cameroon with the hope of illuminating the impact of its inculcation on the Cameroonians and discussing the effects on contemporary education. The discussion will highlight the nature of the policy and show how it was distinct from other regimes.

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<sup>70</sup>This was the population figure of 1913 and school age population of 5+ to 15+ was estimated as 529,722; see Kaiserlichen Statistischen Amte: Statistisches Jahrbuch für Reich 1910-1937.

## CHAPTER THREE.

### CAMEROON EDUCATION UNDER THE FRENCH COLONIAL REGIME (1916-1960)

The French colonial education policies in Cameroon were adapted from policies developed before the First World War for French dependences in Africa. Apart from economic exploitation and political domination, the policies aimed principally at establishing the French culture and influence (*Mission civilisatrice*). The policy imposed a prescribed structure to both private (Mission) and Government schools aimed at producing French citizens from the colonised peoples and discarding all elements of their own institutions. But the duration of French administration in Cameroon (1916-1960) was relatively short, when compared to other French dependencies. The League of Nations mandatory and United Nations trusteeship status also imposed limitations on French administration. It is therefore important to examine whether French policies alone could strongly affect Cameroonians attitudes or other factors may be considered.

This chapter analyses the French colonial education policy within the general framework of the French colonial interests during the League of Nations mandate and the United Nations trusteeship. It assesses the relationship between the Government and the Missions and the impact of the French political and economic interests on the development of education policies to discern the effects on the attitudes of Cameroonians to education. It also examines the impact of other factors that might have influenced the perceptions and behaviours of post-independent Cameroonians towards educational reforms. The role of the French colonial administration in the processes of formulating and implementing colonial education is discussed to show the degree of centralization and the possible effects on attitudes.

#### **French Concept of Colonial Education:**

The theoretical framework of the policy grew out of the concept of assimilation which was pursued until the First World War. After the war France shifted more to the concept of association. Thus French colonial policy in Cameroon, as in other French colonies, oscillated between assimilation and association. The policy of assimilation, could

be identified with the libertarian views stemming from the French Revolution. It emphasized the political and cultural objectives of the French civilising mission as being.,

...la civilization qui marche contre la barbarie...c'est un peuple éclairé qui va trouver un peuple dans la nuit.<sup>1</sup>

Colonial schooling was therefore, considered

...le moyen le plus sûr qu' une nation civilisé ait d'acquérir à ses idées les populations encores primitives, de les élever graduellement jusqu' à elle.<sup>2</sup>

Assimilation was encouraged by the award of French citizenship to those who acquired and internalized the French language and culture. Such people developed a French life pattern and became known as the *assimilés* or *évolués*. They qualified to participate in French political life and formed the capitalist representatives in the colonies.<sup>3</sup> They were trained to perpetuate exploitation during the colonial period and assure its sustenance in post-colonial period by becoming future neo-colonialist collaborators.<sup>4</sup> However, the role of other factors might have significantly contributed in shaping the post-colonial attitudes because, obviously, the conception of the assimilation policy in the 19th century did not foresee the granting of independence. Consequently, the policy could not have been designed initially to guarantee post-colonial French interest.

The policy of association was closely connected with the authoritarian views that gained currency during the 19th century and had paternalistic tendencies. It assumed that most colonized people did not deserve to be treated equally with French citizens. It stressed the traditional colonial objectives of bringing civilization into a primitive and barbaric culture as expressed by orderly and peaceful society with a well structured and

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<sup>1</sup>"...a move against barbarism ... enlightened people seeking to rescue those people still in darkness." Priollaud N., *La France colonisatrice*, Paris, Éditions Levi-Messinger., 1983. p. 49.

<sup>2</sup>"...the surest means by which a civilised nation can impart her ideas to primitive people, and gradually enlighten them to attain her level." Léon A., *Colonisation, Enseignement et Education*, Paris, L' Harmattan, 1984, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup>Cowan L.G., " Britain and France in Africa: A Critical Appraisal" in Piper D.G, and Cole T, (eds)., *Post- primary Education and Political and Economic Development*, London, Cambridge University Press, 1964, p. 182.

<sup>4</sup>Altbach P.G., "Education and Neocolonialism: A Note" in *Comparative Education Review*, 15, 1, 1971, p. 237.

powerful Government and a good economic structure. Thus even the association policy suggested the recognition of a cultural gap between the colonizers and the colonized.

In Cameroon, aspects of both approaches were applied. The assimilationist policies maintained a demarcation between French citizenship gained by the *évolués* and the vast majority of the society "*indigènes*" or "*administrés*". The latter were excluded from the French legal system and placed in a separate legal regime known as the *indigenat*. By so doing there was a reconciliation of the differences between the assimilationist and associationist principles. Both policies advocated direct rule and held that France and the colonies were one and indivisible. Thus there was an overlap between them but both concepts sought to serve the same purpose. It can be argued that when the policy of assimilation which preceded association faced attacks and criticisms during the First World War and particularly during the peace conference,<sup>5</sup> France quickly produced the concept of association, which appeared to be more sympathetic to the colonized. But both concepts were ambiguous. Neither of them totally admitted the colonized into the French culture. The school system and structures except at post-primary level never conformed with the concepts of assimilation or association.

Thus the concepts of assimilation and association can be identified as deliberate efforts aimed at entrenching obedience, loyalty and unquestionable service to France. This was strengthened by the development of a highly centralized system of administration where initiatives came only from above. And with the centralized system developed the inevitable corollaries of uniformity and subordination that inevitably affected the pattern of education.

### **French Colonial Administrative and Educational Development:**

Following the stipulations of Mandate B of the League of Nations' covenant, Cameroon and Togo were to be treated differently from all other French colonies in Africa by not being made parts of the existing French colonies.<sup>6</sup> Cameroon was therefore

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<sup>5</sup>Lakowski R., "The Second World War" in Stoeker H., (ed) *German Imperialism in Africa: From the beginning until the Second World War.*, London., Hurst and Company, 1986. pp. 379-418. See comment on Lenin's book., *Imperialism, the Highest stage of Capitalism*.

<sup>6</sup>Crouzet P., "Education in the French colonies" in Kandel I.L., (ed)., *The Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College*, Columbia University, 1931. Columbia University Press. See particularly p. 300, which states,



supposed to be administered differently from other African dependencies although the administrative institutions and policies practised in French West Africa (*Afrique Occidentale Française*) and French Equatorial Africa (*Afrique Equatoriale Française*) were adopted.

The colonial administration in the two African regions under French colonial rule were coordinated by Governor Generals. Since Cameroon did not belong to either of these blocks, a specific administration was set up. At the head of the administration was initially, the Commissioner, who later on became the Governor. He was answerable to the minister of colonies. The independent treatment of Cameroon was further re-enforced by the decree of 23 March 1921 which legally separated the territory from the other dependencies.<sup>7</sup> But policy formulation and measures of implementation applied the pattern already in practice in earlier acquired dependences.

By decree, the Commissioner was appointed at the head of the administration. He was assisted by an advisory council (*conseil d'administration*) made up of heads of central Government departments in Yaounde and some appointed European residents. There was no Cameroonian representative until 1927 when two were appointed. In 1942 the composition was altered to include, four European residents, four Cameroonians, heads of Government departments and the district administrators. It was in 1942 that Christian missions were able to gain representation in the financial and Economic council, to which six Cameroonians were also appointed.<sup>8</sup>

The territory was divided into districts. The District Officers (*Chef de circonscription*) were responsible for local administration. They were assisted by Assistant Divisional Officers (*Chef de sub-division*), who coordinated the council of Cameroon chiefs (*Conseil de Notables*) each of whom represented 5.000 inhabitants. The main

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... Cameroon and Togo are not markets reserved for French trade. France is to apply to them protective and educational measures which have proved their worth elsewhere... to fulfil "a sacred responsibility of civilization" by assuring the well-being and the development of the primitive peoples who inhabit these territories.

<sup>7</sup>NAY. AR. 1921., Government decree of 23 March 1921 in *Journal officiel* p. 151.

<sup>8</sup>Mveng E., *Histoire du Cameroun*, Paris, Présence Africaine, 1962 p.376.

function of these chiefs was not to advise but to collect tax and assist in the recruitment of community labour. They were either paid salaries or earned commissions on tax collection. Implicit in this structure was the attempt to control the traditional authorities and make them auxiliaries of the colonial administration. Where the chiefs resisted, like sultan Njoya of Bamoun, he was replaced by a subservient person.<sup>9</sup>

The administration of education started in 1916 and was considered temporary since France had not yet acquired legal recognition over the territory. It was only after the peace treaty of 1919 that France organised the administration and structures of schools. The Commissioner issued an education regulation on 25 July 1921.<sup>10</sup> Except for a few changes, the regulations were the replica of the 1903 education policy for French West African dependencies. Education was placed under an Inspector but the education service was supervised by the Administrator of the territory. The Inspector only exercised technical and pedagogic roles, by ensuring the implementation of school curricula. He had to visit and report on schools but lacked direct contact with the head-teachers since they communicated directly with the Commissioner through the district heads. The District Officers had more contact and control over the schools.

General Aymerich, who led the French troops and became the first administrator of the territory, converted all the army chaplains into teachers. They started running the schools left by German missionaries.<sup>11</sup> The Government recruited seven veteran priests of the Holy Ghost Fathers (*Saint Esprit*) of Paris and Sacred Heart Fathers (*Sacré-Coeur*) of Saint Quentin who arrived in Cameroon on 8 October 1916.<sup>12</sup> Negotiations with the French Protestant missions brought a team of the Paris Evangelical Mission in 1917 led by Reverend Elie Allegret, an army chaplain and one of the founding French protestant missionaries in Gabon. Meanwhile the American Presbyterians continued their activities. The church-state collaboration could be explained by Government's determination to

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<sup>9</sup>Le Vine V.T., *The Cameroons from Mandate to Independence*, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, p. 96.

<sup>10</sup>NAY. AR., Arrêté of 25 July 1921 in *Journal Officiel* of 1921.

<sup>11</sup>Martin J.Y., *L'école et les sociétés traditionnelles au Cameroun Septentrional*, ORSTOM, Yaounde, 1970, p. 23.

<sup>12</sup>Van Slagaren J.V., *Les origines de l'Église Évangélique du Cameroun: Mission Européen et Christianisme Autochton*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1972. p.133.

establish the French culture. The Government believed that

...le plus sûr moyen de franchiciser les indigenes, c'est de les convertir au christianisme.<sup>13</sup>

And Missions were considered appropriate agents for French cultural inculcation. This supports the argument that Missions were necessarily arms of the colonial regimes, and explains why the French regime barely tolerated non-French Missions. By 1917 the amount of Government subvention to Missions depended on the number of certificated teachers. Subventions increased in the period before the mandate as shown on table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Government subventions (francs)

1916	4.000
1917	9.000
1918	15.500
1919	25.500
1920	15.000
1921	26.000

Source: League of Nations Report for 1921.

On 29 August 1916, Aymerich issued a circular bearing a school curriculum which gave pride of place to the French language. Programmes for re-training former German trained teachers to teach French started with 40 candidates in 1916. By 1917, the number increased to 70. These efforts aided the schools to start and by 1920, more than 200 schools were revived.<sup>14</sup> On the 24th of November 1918, another order re-established Government schools and 30 were started in nine districts.<sup>15</sup>

**Education during the Mandate:**

The first major policy statement on education was the *arrêté* of 1 October 1920,<sup>16</sup> regulating the Mission schools. Issues treated related to official authorization to run private schools, the nature of the curriculum, qualifications of head-teachers and teachers, the modalities for keeping school reports, the nature of school leaving certificate

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<sup>13</sup>"... the best way to free the natives, is by converting them into christianity". Statement by René Bazin, in Léon A., op. cit. p. 32.

<sup>14</sup>NAY.AR. *Journal Officiel*, Yaounde, 1920.

<sup>15</sup>ibid.

<sup>16</sup>NAY AR 1921., *Journal Officiel*, 1921 p. 151.

examination, school age limit (admission was limited to children of less than 14 years), the French language policy, financial awards and discipline.

Individuals or associations could establish a school on condition that they received official authorization. Such schools were supposed to have satisfactory hygiene and moral conditions with qualified staff. The head-teacher and the staff members required Government approval to teach, and this was granted only on proof of adequate knowledge of the French language. The second article of the *arrêté* emphasized the exclusive use of French as the medium of instruction.

The prescribed curriculum comprised reading, writing, arithmetic, the metric system, history and geography (especially of France and French Africa), drawing, agriculture for boys and needle work for girls. A school leaving certificate was also instituted to take place once a year at a place and a date decided by the Governor. The examination had to test mostly the French language. To encourage the acquisition of the French language, an incentive of 150 francs per successful candidate was paid to the school. And to discourage the continued use of German and local languages, qualifications of the teachers depended on their knowledge of French. Teachers who did not possess professional certificates from France or a French West African training institution were expected to do written work and an oral test in French to qualify to teach. Head-teachers had up to one year to regularize their qualifications or have their schools closed.

School records were to be kept by all schools and presented to inspectors during school visits. Existing schools were called upon to regularise their situations and conform with the policy within three months of the *arrêté*. From the policy, the Government clearly established state authority over all agencies involved with education for the first time.

It was difficult for the Missions to conform with the policy. Most of their teachers, being German trained, were in the process of learning French. Secondly, the policy did not seem to cater for religious instruction which was the principal subject of Mission schools. This marked the first disagreement between the Government and Missions since 1916 and must have affected the quality of education during the early period of the French rule.

The second important policy was issued by Governor Carde in the *arrêté* of 25 July 1921 organising Government schools.<sup>17</sup> It treated vital aspects of public education ranging from types of schools, teaching methods, personnel, organisation of courses, discipline, examinations, and school curriculum. The Government provided the following types of schools:

**École du village:** They were located in villages and offering four year courses. From 8 March 1939 these schools became known as *École rurale*. Only pupils below twelve years of age were admitted. Pupils in the first year were taught in the local language by teachers who knew the local language. From the second year teaching was supposed to be in French. The curriculum comprised French, hygiene, agriculture, animal husbandry, reading, writing and elementary notions of arithmetic and metric system.

**École regionale:** Each of the administrative regions had a central school for children of the regional headquarters and talented graduates of the village schools. Admission priority was to children in the regional headquarters who in most cases were children of Government workers, chiefs, and business people. It was a six year primary course. Graduates of village schools were admitted in the fifth year. The establishment of a regional school depended very much on the viability of the region and the availability of qualified staff because it had the important role of serving as a model school to the village schools and private schools. The head-teacher was usually a European. Graduates obtained the Primary School Leaving Certificate or *Certificat d'Etudes Primaires* (C.E.P.) at the end of the course. This was equivalent to first school leaving certificate in France and guaranteed the owner to proceed into *sixième* (form one of secondary school) whether in the colony or in France.

The curriculum of the regional schools included French, arithmetic, metric system, notions of physical and natural sciences as applied to hygiene and agriculture, basic notions of history and geography of Cameroon and France and the administrative organisation of Cameroon. In addition, there was practical work in agriculture for boys on the school farm and home economics and needle-work for girls in the domestic science centre. It was hoped that through this practical work, the pupils would be able to improve

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<sup>17</sup>NAY. AR. 1921., *arrêté* of 25 July 1921 in *Journal Officiel* of 1921.

their environment rather than learn a trade.<sup>18</sup> Regional schools became important as the main sources of educated Cameroonians for employment in the European oriented economy. The attention given to regional schools conformed with the argument that colonial education created interest in white collar jobs and discouraged the development of traditional vocational training.

**École Supérieure de Yaounde:** Established in 1921,<sup>19</sup> it was the highest institution of learning in the territory during the inter-war years. It was a three years post-primary institution admitting graduates of the regional schools through entrance examination. It offered multipurpose training for a wide range of roles needed by the colonial service. The first two years concentrated on general education with emphasis on the acquisition of written and spoken French. The third year was devoted to practical training in a chosen career. The three main professions in which training was offered included: teacher training, public administration, and technical training for nursing, agriculture, posts and telecommunications. The practical training was done in the form of industrial training on the job.<sup>20</sup> Many of the nationalists and post-colonial leaders including Ahmadou Ahidjo, the first president of the nation, were graduates of this school.

**Government Schools during the period:**

Education was considered a state responsibility because of its importance to imperial interests. By 1920, the Government was providing 34 village schools enrolling 2,200 pupils. The number increased as indicated on table 3.2

Table 3.2: Number and Enrolment in Village Schools.

Year	No of schools	Enrolment
1921	26	2711
1925	50	2453
1930	64	3580
1934	61	5377
1938	66	6639

Source: NAY.AR. *Journal Officiel* of 1925, 1930 and 1938.

<sup>18</sup>Article 7 of the arrêté.

<sup>19</sup>NAY.AR., *Journal Officiel* of 1925, p. 10.

<sup>20</sup>See articles 13, 14, 24 and 25 of the arrêté.

There were fewer regional schools than village schools. They admitted only the best from the village schools. However, in 1933 the children of village chiefs could be admitted regardless of their abilities. Consequently enrolment was relatively slow as table 3.3 indicates:

Table 3.3 Number and enrolment in Regional Schools.

Year	No. of schools	Enrolments
1921	4	922
1923	5	1480
1925	9	1666
1927	10	1867
1930	12	2300
1932	9	1953
1935	9	2646
1937	9	3166
1938	10	3470

Source:NAY.AR. *Journal Officiel* for the respective years.

The restriction on admission into the regional schools was ultimately determined by economic reasons since the objective of these schools was to prepare candidates for employment in the administration to supplement colonial civil servants.<sup>21</sup> Consequently, metropolitan based curriculum was established to produce people with qualities close to those obtainable in France. Since the nature of work available to Africans was mainly administrative, the education policies tended to emphasize literary studies. Thus the criticism of the transplantation of metropolitan education system, discussed in the introductory chapter can be considered valid and may be explained by urge to solve specific problems.

Similarly, the growth of the École Supérieure correlated with the rate of economic and political developments since it was a professional training school. The impact of the world economic crisis in the 1930s reflected on the enrolment as table 3.4 shows:

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<sup>21</sup>NAY.AR., *Journal Officiel* of 1922, pp. 23-24.

Table 3.4: Enrolment in the École Supérieur de Yaounde.

Year	Enrolment
1921	32
1922	65
1923	72
1924	111
1925	136
1926	110
1927	110
1928	78
1929	150

Year	Enrolment
1930	147
1931	124
1932	73
1933	77
1934	80
1935	85
1936	79
1937	100
1938	89

Sources: NAY.AR. Journal Officiel for the respective years.

The fluctuations in the enrolment also resulted from the reluctance of the Missions at certain periods to send their teachers to the school for training because on graduation some of the teachers joined the Government service because of better salaries. Undoubtedly, Mission attitude was conditioned by fear that trained teachers would demand for higher salaries.

Generally, the school produced more teachers than other professionals. Of the 680 who gained admission from its creation until 1938, a total of 415 graduated, amongst whom was a total of 135 Government teachers and 33 Mission teachers.<sup>22</sup> When compared with the large number of schools and pupils, the number of trained teachers was grossly inadequate.

**Other Government Professional Schools:** The expanding economy caused increased demand for technical and administrative personnel. This necessitated training in various fields. Vocational training and apprenticeship practices were introduced first in some of the regional schools. By 1922, the regional school at Ebolowa became one of the very first schools to start vocational training. It had a workshop for sisal and raffia fibre for making ropes and weaving bags. They also operated a carpentry workshop which helped the pupils to learn how to make tables, chairs, beds, doors and window frames. The sale

<sup>22</sup>NAY.AR., "Statistique de l'École Supérieure", in *Journal Officiel* of 1938, p. 104.



of these items enriched the Ebolowa school cooperative.<sup>23</sup> The regional school at Dschang also started vocational training by employing specialists who taught pottery, carpentry, mechanics and iron works to the pupils.<sup>24</sup>

Vocational training was also introduced in the regional schools in the north (Garoua, Maroua, Ngaoundere). Workshops were established in schools from 1927. They concentrated on embroidery which suited the local outfit. However, by 1934, woodwork and metal sections were also introduced. The importance attached to apprenticeship training in the north was particularly because tradesmen were very scarce in the region and those from the south resented working there. Thus training indigenous people became a necessary solution.

Vocational or apprenticeship training was therefore given side by side with the full primary school education in the regional schools. Besides the desire to prepare the graduates for the colonial service (administrative and technical), it is evident that vocational training aimed also at eventual self-employment. Apparently, candidates were more attracted to literary education for employment in the administration. The Government realized this and decided to offer incentives to those interested in the technical training. In the north the pupils were motivated with 25 francs per month during their last two years.<sup>25</sup> These motivations were indicative of the failure of the vocational education scheme. Many of the courses aimed at developing skills in local vocations. But schooling was regarded by most parents and pupils as the place for literary studies. They believed that vocational skills could be better acquired out of school.

Meanwhile in Douala, a more formal technical education was established in 1922 where apprentices were recruited from primary school leavers aged between 14 and 17 years.<sup>26</sup> The workshop was placed under the Public Works Department. They had five and a half hours training sessions a day with general education in French, arithmetic, drawing and the particular trade that the candidate had chosen (either woodwork or metal work)

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<sup>23</sup>NAY. AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1930 p. 17.

<sup>24</sup>ibid.

<sup>25</sup>NAY. AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1934 p. 128; and 1936 p. 119.

<sup>26</sup>NAY.AR., Governor Marchand in Arrêté of 20 December 1925, p. 181.

because the quality of training was higher. The school closed after three years because of the high demand for successful primary school leavers (with the CEPE<sup>27</sup>) for white collar jobs with regular salaries. The tendency was therefore for pupils and parents to be less interested in vocational education.

However, the school was re-opened a year later as a trade centre for the Railway Corporation. Candidates signed a contract of five years apprenticeship and had to pay 75 francs per month. The trades available included blacksmith, welding and electricity. At the end of their training, they were automatically absorbed into the Railway Company.<sup>28</sup>

However, despite all these attempts, technical training remained inconsistent until 1937 when better organised schools with professional staff were established.

#### **Yaounde High School of Agriculture:**

This was established by the Department of Agriculture in collaboration with the Department of Education.<sup>29</sup> Primary school leavers aged between 14 and 17 years were recruited for a four years technicians course in agriculture or forestry or animal husbandry. They also trained trade instructors for the Regional Schools.<sup>30</sup> The school succeeded because the graduates were employed mainly by the Government and private firms.

#### **Douala Professional School:**

This school started in 1937 with the same objective of training competent technicians for the Railway Company and the Public Works Department.<sup>31</sup> Like the Yaounde schools, it offered free lodging and promised employment at the end of training. The graduates were more competent and mature when compared to those of the regional schools. They were highly valued by the technical departments.

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<sup>27</sup>See the table for abbreviations on p.10 . Also see appendix 2 for the level of the CEPE.

<sup>28</sup>NAY. AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1933 pp. 103-108.

<sup>29</sup>NAY.AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1925, p. 11

<sup>30</sup>NAY. AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1937, p. 104.

<sup>31</sup>ibid., p. 105.

### **Ayos Nursing School:**

Admission was limited to school leavers with the CEPE. The introduction of anatomy and physiology on the curriculum raised the standard to cover full nursing care during the three years training period, and therefore placed the school amongst professional schools in 1934. Until that year 54 people had enrolled and 16 successfully graduated.<sup>32</sup>

### **Vocational and Professional Education for Girls:**

Of all the attempts to train technicians and professionals, little attention was given to girls except those preparing as teachers and nurses. Generally, female education was associated with preparation for marriage and motherhood training which the Missions were offering. However the Government opened vocational centres for training girls in Home Economics at all regional stations. The requirement for a CEPE during recruitment, was often overlooked because few girls completed their primary school course. However the Government insisted on French Language arguing that a gallicised girl at marriage could be instrumental in diffusing the French language.

These Home Economics centres taught house-care, sewing, cookery, needle-work and child care together with elementary knowledge of reading, writing and spoken French. The first centres were opened in the two big towns of Douala and Yaounde in 1923. There after, sections were attached to the regional schools of Ebolowa and Dschang. To attract many girls, the administration recruited the daughters of local chiefs, Cameroonian civil servants and business men. But they failed to maintain standards since some of these pupils were hardly literate.<sup>33</sup> In some centres, the school mistress had to divide the students into two groups placing the educated ones under a European lady and those without previous education under a local lady who instructed in the local language. When parents realized the importance of schooling in preparing girls for marriage, female education started gathering momentum.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>NAY.AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1937, p. 106.

<sup>33</sup>NAY.AR., "Ecole de fils de chefs", in *Journal Officiel*, 1937, p.106

<sup>34</sup>NAY. AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1938.

Besides the disequilibrium between boys and girls in education, Government educational provisions also created a regional imbalance. The majority of the schools were in the south the vast north and much of the eastern areas lagged behind in education. The north and east corresponded also with the Muslim population but more importantly, these two regions were not easily accessible and were not economically viable at the time.

These were the educational efforts made during the inter-war period. Education was limited to primary schools with emphasis on French and basic technical skills were given to those needed for colonial services. This pattern of education and the negligible proportion of the population involved does not support the argument that French colonial education during the inter-war years had significant impact on the territory. However, since Mission education affected a larger population and also implied a cultural Mission, it is necessary to examine the impact.

### **Mission Education:**

As shown on pages 77 to 78, Mission education started in close collaboration with the colonial regime during the war and was making significant progress when Government policies introduced restrictions. Before the 1920 law, all the Missions provided 193 schools with 9.000 pupils and Government subvention for that year amounted to 14.995 francs.<sup>35</sup>

The law proposed grants only to schools teaching in the French Language. The number of pupils in the approved schools passing the School Leaving Certificate Examination (CEPE) also determined the amount of grant. The *arrêté* of 26 December 1924 modified that of 1920 granting to each Mission the sum of 150 francs for every 20 pupils in those schools headed by a certificated teacher and 300 francs for every Mission pupil in the École Supérieure.<sup>36</sup> The policies therefore determined the quantity, quality and orientation of education through financing. These conditions affected inter-denominational relations as the Missions competed for higher financial awards from the Government.

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<sup>35</sup>NAY. AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1921.

<sup>36</sup>NAY. AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1924.

Table 3.5:Distribution of grants to approved Mission schools.

Year	No. of schools	Enrolment	Total Grants in Francs	Catholic Missions	Paris Evangelical Mission	American Presbyterian Mission
1921	22	4.067	12.450	5.250	2.100	5.100
1923	36	4.683	7.050	1.800	1.350	3.900
1925	36	6.122	29.100	5.400	8.100	15.000
1926	38	4.915	45.500	10.250	14.800	20.400
1930	51	7.059	87.600	8.400	21.000	57.600

Sources: - Compiled from Annual Reports.

Before 1920, the Catholic Missions received a very high proportion of the subvention when compared to the other Missions. For instance, in 1920, they received 11,072 Francs while the Paris Evangelical Mission had only 1,923 Francs and American Presbyterian Mission had just 1,923 Francs.<sup>37</sup> After the passing of the law in 1923, the amount declined as shown in table 3.5.

From 1926, a block grant of 20.000 francs was included in the subventions for examinations.<sup>38</sup> This relaxed the difficult and tight conditions imposed in 1920. The administration realized that educational objectives could not be achieved without the collaboration of the Missions. The increasing number of trained teachers also contributed to the rapid increase in the number of approved schools. By 1935, the number of approved schools increased to 78, then to 81 by 1937.<sup>39</sup> Changes resulting from the war which will be discussed later, increased the number of approved schools by 1946/47 school year to 1,188.

**Mission Unapproved (unassisted) Schools.**

Unapproved schools included all schools that did not satisfy the regulations stipulated in various Government regulations. They included schools where only religious instruction was taught and needlework classes. But there were occasions when christians

<sup>37</sup>NAY.AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1920.

<sup>38</sup>NAY.AR., " Legislation de l'engseignement privé et des subventions" in *Journal Officiel*, 1926.p. 17.

<sup>39</sup>NAY AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1935-37.

either opened a school in the name of a Mission or revived one of the German Mission schools in anticipation for a Mission or the Government to take over. In all these schools, basic education was offered but generally in local languages. The total number of pupils in these schools outnumbered those attending Government schools and the approved Mission schools as shown on table 3.6.

Table 3.6 Comparison of Government and Mission provisions.

Year	Government School Enrolment.	%	Approved Mission School Enrolment.	%	Unapproved Mission Enrolment.	%	Total
1921	3,633	9.1	4,067	10.2	32,011	80.6	39,711
1925	4,119	7.5	6,122	11.2	44,417	81.2	54,658
1930	5,880	8.3	7,059	10	59,267	84.4	70,206
1938	1,109	10.5	5,351	5.5	81,758	84	97,218

Sources: NAY.AR. Journal Officiel for the respective years.

From the table, Missions made provision for 84% of school attenders by 1938, while the Government provided for 10.5 per cent and subsidised another 5.5 per cent. Individual Missions made various attempts to sustain the schools but the motivating factor to all of them was the desire to gain adherents and establish local churches.

**The American Presbyterian Mission:**

This was the oldest Mission in the territory having started in 1885. It had a difficult beginning with the French rule because of disagreement over the language policy and also because of the earlier connection with German Missionaries.<sup>40</sup> They trained their teachers with "*Alliance Française*"<sup>41</sup> and perhaps more than any other Mission they endeavoured to satisfy Government requirements. This enabled them to have the highest number of successful candidates at the French examinations and consequently to have the highest amount of Government grants.

<sup>40</sup>IMC/CBMS Archives., Box 276 File E.

<sup>41</sup>A cultural and educational association officially approved and sponsored by the French government particularly for the teaching of French in the world since its creation in 1883. See more from Alliance Française, 1 Dorset Square, London NW1 6PU.

Whereas this Mission operated mostly in the Bulu land during the German era, they extended their influence amongst the Ewondos in Yaounde (1922), Nkol Mvolan (1928) and amongst the Basa in Edea (1930) and the Bafia people (1930) during the French period. They refused to take over the Basel Mission establishments in the British zone probably because they realized that the French were interested in having a French Missionary society to replace the Basel Mission.<sup>42</sup> Table 3.5 above illustrates their achievements.

### **The Catholic Holy Ghost Mission:**

The French Holy Ghost Order replaced the German Pallotine Fathers. They were led by the army chaplain, James Douvry from Gabon. In 1922 he was replaced by Mgr. Francois-Xavier Vogt who came on transfer from East Africa. Vogt was in Cameroon from 1922 to 1939 and contributed enormously to the success of Catholic education. This earned him the recognition of many Cameroonians. In appreciation the first Catholic college, located in Yaounde, was named after him, *college Vogt*.

At the beginning of the mandate period, the Mission had 140 schools with 6.145 pupils, 13 priests and 600 catechists/teachers.<sup>43</sup> By 1930 the number of schools increased to 448 with an enrolment of 19.815 pupils.<sup>44</sup> The relationship between the Mission and the colonial administration was not always cordial since the administration insisted on respect for school regulations while the Mission was interested in evangelical expansion. Apart from schools, the Mission was also involved with social services such as orphanages, dispensaries, and workshops where a variety of trades were taught.

Another Catholic Order that was established separately was the Sacred Heart Order which arrived in Cameroon on the eve of the war in 1914 to operate in the new Apostolic Prefecture of Adamawa. During the mandate period they worked in the Fouban Apostolic Prefecture which later became Nkongsamba Apostolic Vicarate. They extended their activities to cover Bafang, Bangante, Dschang, Loum, Melong, Ngaoundere, Nkongsamba,

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<sup>42</sup>IMC/CBMS Archives., Box 276 File E. See letter from the secretary, Stanley White, on 15 June 1923.

<sup>43</sup>NAY.AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1922, p. 27.

<sup>44</sup>These figures represent both approved and unapproved schools. For approved schools, see table 5.

and Yabassi. Starting only with one school in 1920, they had 84 schools by 1930 with 3.243 pupils.

### **The Paris Evangelical Mission Society:**

This Mission was invited by the French Government to take over the Basel Mission activities in French Cameroon. Although their resources were limited, they found the Mission field so interesting that after reorganising the activities, they embarked on negotiations to take over the Basel Mission field in British Cameroon.<sup>45</sup> Despite this ambition, the Mission was initially not capable of financing all the Basel Mission establishments in French Cameroon. They handed over part of the stations to the American Presbyterian Mission which was then more able. By 1924, the Mission was left only with four main stations at Foumban, Ndoungue, Yabassi, and Douala with six Missionaries, 10 pastors, 22 evangelists, 318 catechists and 12.536 pupils.<sup>46</sup> By 1925, they had 25 approved schools with seven European head-teachers, 18 certificated teachers; 18 uncertificated teachers and a total enrolment of 1.868 pupils.

An interesting feature of this Mission was the initiative in establishing self supporting projects, such as the school on a farm at Ndoungue which was maintained from the proceeds of the farm.<sup>47</sup> The Missionaries are also praised for sacrificing their leisure periods to prepare teachers for the Government certificate examination since they could not raise money to train them formally.<sup>48</sup> Further to strengthen the teaching staff, they established a teacher training school (*École Normale*) in Ndoungue in 1929. By 1935 the Mission had 20 approved schools with 1.430 pupils and there were 16.910 pupils in their unapproved schools.<sup>49</sup> Two years later the situation changed. Enrolment in the approved schools dropped to 800 but those in the unapproved schools increased to 19.281 pupils.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Projet d'accord entre les Société de Bâle et la Mission Evangélique de Paris pour l'organisation et la reprise du Cameroun Anglais, 5 January 1925, pp. 1-4., in NAY. AR., 1925.

<sup>46</sup>NAY. AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1924.

<sup>47</sup>School Work in NAY. AR., 1923 *Journal des Mission Evangeliques des Paris*.

<sup>48</sup>ibid., p. 58.

<sup>49</sup>NAY.AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1935.

<sup>50</sup>NAY.AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1937.



The decline in the number of approved schools however, affected all the Missions and may be explained by the growing number of Government schools in the territory.

These were the Missions under the French colonial regime during the mandate period. Before the Second World War, the Missions were struggling to cope with Government regulations. By establishing public schools in all districts, the Government promoted competition with the Missions.

In summary, access to schooling during the inter-war period was not available to everyone and was limited to primary level. Even the League of Nations failed in its role to guide the course of educational development as it was required by the terms of the mandate.<sup>51</sup> No measures were provided for the League to oblige the mandatory powers to fulfil their responsibilities. Consequently, education remained low key throughout the inter-war years.

Thus the assumption that France desperately wanted to establish French culture through education is challenged by the rate of educational developments during this period. Quantitatively, education did not involve many people as the statistics on the tables have indicated. In 1921, all educational institutions (public and private) enrolled only 39,711 pupils out of a school age population (6 - 14) of 566,000 people i.e. seven per cent. By 1930 the enrolment had increased only to 70,206 out of an estimated school age population of 437,203 people which was just sixteen per cent. The last statistics collected (1938) before the war showed that school enrolment had increased to 97,218 out of an estimated school age population of 560,000 which was 17 per cent. Thus the impact of French colonial education during this period was negligible.

### **Education during the Second World War and Trusteeship era.**

The impact of the early part of the war had far reaching effects on the French colonies. When Germany occupied France, it became difficult for the regime to exercise normal colonial administration. Most French administrators were engaged with the war efforts. The priority at the time was to free the metropolis from Nazism. Thus problems ensuing from the war added to the issues brought forward from the inter-war period. This

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<sup>51</sup>See more arguments in Rubin N., *Cameroun, An African Federation.*, London, Praeger, 1971.

section examines the range of educational issues that confronted the regime during and after the war and the strategies that were applied to resolve them. It further examines the impact of those strategies on Cameroonians and their outcome on contemporary education.

During the war, the Government recognized the absence of competent Cameroonian assistants to supplement the limited colonial staff. Yet Cameroon had played a valuable part in the Free French war effort.<sup>52</sup> Douala was the first of the African towns that received General de Gaulle in 1940 as head of the Free French Government and although there was no actual fighting in Cameroon, the territory like all dependencies supplied soldiers to the French troops and made financial and material sacrifices towards the war efforts.<sup>53</sup> These factors and disturbances in the French Asiatic dependencies coupled with promises made during the Brazaville conference to influence policy orientations during the post-war period.

#### **The Brazaville Conference (30 January-6 February 1944):<sup>54</sup>**

The first reaction of the colonial Government was shown during the Brazaville conference. The conference had delegations from all the French African dependencies. It was presided over by Governor Felix Eboué of Chad but General Charles de Gaulle, leader of the Free French Government chaired the opening session. The objective of the conference was,

to raise the standard of living and improve on education and health of the population because a wealthier and better educated colonial population would consume a far larger proportion of French manufactured goods.<sup>55</sup>

But undoubtedly, Government aim was also to mobilise more efforts to support Free France in the war and in return seek for solutions to African problems. In other words the French wanted more support from the African colonies but had to promise reforms to satisfy African demands. The reforms included decentralization through the creation of

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<sup>52</sup>PRO. FO 371/36216., Douala Intelligence reports.

<sup>53</sup>PRO.FO 371/36220., Supplies for French Cameroon.

<sup>54</sup>PRO.FO.371/42216., The Brazaville Conference of 1944. The influence of British colonial policy on the Freed French Government of De Gaule was evident as René Plevén, the Commissioner for colonies disclosed to the British representative in Algiers on 22 January, 1944.

<sup>55</sup>De Gaule quoted by Duh Cooper of the Office of the British Representative with the French Committee of National Liberation in Algiers on 22 January 1944., see PRO.FO/42216 of 1944, op. cit.

representative assemblies, with limited powers, in each territory. But there was no question of independence for any of the territories. Any idea of autonomy or evolution outside the French empire was specifically excluded. Even the idea of self-government after the war was explicitly rejected:

...the aims of the work of civilization accomplished by France in the colonies exclude all ideas of autonomy, all possibility of evolution outside the French bloc of Empire; the eventual formation even distant, of self-governments in the colonies is to be rejected.<sup>56</sup>

Thus France was determined to maintain the colonies. However, African educated elites asked for mass education and the provision of post-primary schools whilst the thrust of French reforms was to prepare the educated Africans to become more serviceable to the colonial regime. This had been expressed by responsible colonial administrators like Eboue, who in 1941 expressed his opinion on African education in a circular entitled, "The New Native Policy".

...Education is the very foundation of colonial policy and the value assignable to our overseas possessions is to be measured first of all by the value of the individual in virtue of the instructions he receives.

.... Education has as its first effect a large increase in the value of colonial industrial output through multiplying the intellectual abilities and capacities among the masses of colonial workers... as skilled mechanics, foremen, inspectors, clerks to supplement the numerical insufficiency of Europeans and satisfy the growing demands of agriculture, industrial and commercial colonisation enterprise... to train native officials of various categories... to train native non-commissioned officers.... Education should develop in them facilities and capacities necessary for useful collaboration with us... there is urgent need to develop without further delay all the educational institutions which should render our subjects... more capable of playing their part in French civilization.<sup>57</sup>

As an administrator, Eboue was motivated by the dearth of African administrative and technical assistants during the war and therefore proposed that education policy be directed to teach practical things and take initiatives because until then, education had been limited to a minority *évolués*. Members of this group were supposed to become true citizens of colonisation especially as councillors in their territories representing and defending colonial

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<sup>56</sup>Gardinier D.E., *Cameroon: United Nations Challenge to French Policy*, London, Oxford University Press., p.19.

<sup>57</sup>Crouzet P., *op. cit.* pp. 272-276.

ideas.<sup>58</sup> As conference chairman, his ideas influenced the discussions and resolutions. Education was seen as means to cultivate attitudes necessary for collaboration with France and in the promotion of French civilization.

Furthermore, the socio-economic impact of the war was considerable on the colonies. Since the French Government was in disarray and the "Free France" faction that gained the respect of the colonies was in exile the Cameroon economy suffered.<sup>59</sup> African criticisms of the socio-economic malaise pointed at the weaknesses of the education system that required reforms. International pressures as indicated earlier argued that if German colonies had not been confiscated at the end of the First World War, there would have been no Second World War. The argument raised by Lenin during the First World War against monopoly and capitalist system in his work, *Imperialism, the Highest stage of Capitalism*, was revived.<sup>60</sup> The presence of Russia in the same camp against Germany exerted pressure on French policies. These observations influenced changes in French colonial policies.

One solution in education was to establish secondary schools. Thus, a secondary school that started in Yaounde in 1944 exclusively for Europeans, opened its doors to Africans in 1947.<sup>61</sup> To solve the problem of teachers, a teacher training college was opened in Nkongsamba.<sup>62</sup> On 23 December 1947, an *arrêté* was published that brought many significant changes. Education was placed under a Director who had to be a French civil servant with a university qualification. The Director was assisted by inspectors for primary, secondary and technical education. A new curriculum for primary schools was also published which reflected the new policy orientation.<sup>63</sup> The professional school in Douala was reorganised and grants to<sup>64</sup> the Mission schools were revised.

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<sup>58</sup>Madiba E., *Colonisation et Evangélisation en Afrique: L'Heritage scolaire au Cameroun*, Berne, Peter Lang, 1980.

<sup>59</sup>PRO.FO/36221 Supplies for French Cameroon and France.

<sup>60</sup>Lakowski R., op. cit. pp.379-418.

<sup>61</sup>NAY.AR., *Journal Officiel*, "Enseignement du second degré classique et moderne" 1948, p.133.

<sup>62</sup>ibid.

<sup>63</sup> NAY. AR., *Journal Officiel*., Arrêté of 23 December 1947, pp.130-131 1948.

<sup>64</sup>Arrêté of 23 December 1947 in NAY.AR. *Journal Officiel*, 1948.

These changes brought rapid growth in school enrolment but did not provide for strategies to monitor the quality of education. It became necessary in 1952 to take measures to control the growth of education and make sure that the curriculum implementation respected Government objectives.<sup>65</sup> This was done by granting the Director of Education the power to appoint, train and retrain teachers. One of his two assistants was assigned to coordinate primary education and technical education respectively. To cope with the required standard and statistical records, offices were created for statistical data and curriculum within the Director's office.<sup>66</sup>

These were the policies that guided post-war education in the territory. Constitutional reforms and Cameroonian reactions as developed in chapter eight of this study were very influential. The Fourth French Republic reversed the promise for decentralization made at the Brazaville conference and decided to maintain strong central control on the colonies. This ignited protests in most of the dependences. In Cameroon resistance from the *évolués* was accompanied by the *administrés* to produce an anti-colonial ferment in the territory that dominated much of the entire post-war era<sup>67</sup>. Nevertheless, the provision of education by the Government during the post-colonial period made significant progress.

### Government provisions.

Whereas education during the mandate concentrated on a few primary schools, the trusteeship era witnessed a dramatic expansion in primary education, reforms in vocational training and the introduction of secondary education. The new structure of school management and supervision brought efficiency and greater coordination in educational developments in general and particularly in Government schools which had the task of setting a model to private schools. The territory was divided into four zones for closer supervision in contrast to the district system of the mandate period. Each of the four inspectors was assigned a zone.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup>ibid. p. 252.

<sup>66</sup>ibid.

<sup>67</sup>NAY. AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1950. p.133-134.

<sup>68</sup>NAY. AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1952 p. 252.

**Primary Education:** The aim of primary school education was said to give the child education and knowledge necessary to enhance his/her ability to participate actively in his society and in "modern civilisation".<sup>69</sup>

These changes led to phenomenal expansion in schooling as shown on table 3.7.

Table 3.7 Government schools during the post-war period.

Description	1945	1950	1953	1959
Number of schools	136	181	364	728
Number of cameroonian pupils	15,942	26,682	50,258	103,072
Number of European pupils	130	423	506	n.a.
Number of African teachers	261	572	889	n.a.

Sources: NAY. Services de l'enseignement et de l'orientation professionnelle: Annuaire statistique du Cameroun: Service coloniale des statistiques. Vol. II. Also see Report of the Advisory Commission for the development of Higher education in Cameroon, UNESCO, Paris, 1962; for 1953to 1959 figures.

**Secondary Education:** Though lately introduced, secondary education rapidly expanded. By 1956 there were already two lycées (lycée Leclerc in Yaounde and Lycée Joss in Douala). Then three junior or first cycle secondary schools were opened in Nkongsamba, Garoua and one in Douala for girls only. The certificate examinations, whether at the *Brûvet* or *Baccalauréat* level, were organised by Examination Boards in France, based on French curricula. Until after independence all the secondary schools were headed by Europeans. Table 3.8. illustrates the statistical development in secondary education during this period:

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<sup>69</sup>NAY.AR., *Journal Officiel*,, "Enseignement Technique" 1956, p.134.

Table 3.8: Statistical situation of Government secondary education:

Description	Years		
	1950	1953	1959
Number of schools	4	5	5
Number of Cameroonian Students	858	1,300	1,833
Number of European Students	70	214	67
Number of European teachers	15	15	n.a.
Number of African teachers	30	39	n.a.

SOURCES: NAY. Service de l’enseignement et de l’orientation professionnelle: annuaire statistique du Cameroon. Also see, Report of the Advisory Commision for the development of Higher Education in Cameroon, UNESCO, Paris, 1962.

**Technical Education:** Technical and commercial education were re-structured and made attractive to pupils.<sup>70</sup> The students spent the first year for general orientation after which those retained were admitted into apprenticeship in a variety of trades ranging from masonry to woodwork, motor-mechanics and electricity. The course took three years at the end of which the students sat for a trade test comprising theoretical and practical components to obtain Certificat D’Aptitude Professionnelle (C.A.P.)

There was also the establishment of the *lycée technique* structure which offered intermediate professional training.<sup>71</sup> It was a comprehensive system in which the first three years were devoted to general education as in grammar schools. Graduates of general secondary education with the *brevet* certificates were also admitted to the fourth year into specialised courses where they studied both theory and practice until the sixth year when they did the *probatoire technique*. Those who succeeded continued to the seventh year where they sat for the *Baccalauréat technique*. This level of training aimed at supplying competent intermediate cadres for industries. Others continued for higher studies in technical field in France. Table 3.9. gives statistical illustration.

<sup>70</sup>NAY.AR., *Journal Officiel*., " Enseignement Technique" 1948., p.134.

<sup>71</sup>ibid.

Table 3.9: Government Technical Education.

Description	Years			
	1947	1950	1953	1959
Number of schools	1	1	19	34
Number of European Students	2	3	12	n.a.
Number of Cameroon Students	102	114	880	1.441
Number of European teachers	8	20	34	n.a.
Number of African teachers	0	1	1	n.a.

SOURCES: La Documentation Française, 'La Republique du Camroun' in *Notes et Études Documentaire*, N. 2741, 1961. And also, Gardinier D.E. "French Policy in the Cameroons, 1945-1959" Ph.D. Yale 1960.

Despite the reform in technical education, it did not expand as rapidly as secondary general education. Firstly because <sup>there was</sup> the dearth of qualified teachers. Secondly, because the construction, equipment and management of technical institutions was too expensive. Finally because more interest had been developed for white-collar jobs requiring general education. General education graduates had more access to university education where they qualified for managerial posts whereas most technical school students ended up as technicians under university graduates, a practice that has persisted.

**Teacher Training:** The expansion in primary schools inevitably had implications for teacher training colleges. The Teacher Training College at Nkongsamba replaced the Higher Primary School in Yaounde. Four more training colleges were established to train teachers in three categories: Grade One Teachers (*instituteur or institutrice*), Grade Two Teachers (*instituteur or institutrice adjoints*), and Grade Three Teachers (*moniteurs*). Thus by 1956, there were five Government Teacher Training Colleges with 12 Grade One student-teachers, 528 Grade Two student-teachers and 30 Grade three student-teachers.<sup>72</sup> These were the efforts made in formal educational provisions by the colonial Government. They combined with efforts in the private sector to establish the educational system that was inherited at independence.

<sup>72</sup>NAY.AR. *Journal Officiel*, 1956.



### **Mission/Private education.**

Besides the Mission schools, secular schools started during the post-war period. By 1952, there were already 22 secular primary schools with a total enrolment of 1.873 pupils and by 1956 secular secondary schools were also established.<sup>73</sup> The emergence of this pattern of schooling may be explained by the improved educational policy that guaranteed initiatives by individual or corporate bodies. It can also be explained by the economic development of the territory that stimulated high demand for educated people. The desire of some people of good will to offer social services cannot also be excluded. There were also inducements from increased Government subvention for private education that might have attracted prospective proprietors of schools. For example, the 1948 budget for education was 116,000,000 francs and Government subvention was 18,500,000 francs making a total of 134,500,000 francs and the following year the budget increased to 334,336,000 francs to which was added a subvention of 78,000,000 francs making a total of 412,336.000 francs.<sup>74</sup> This was unprecedented in Government financing and therefore attracted private investment.

The increased subvention stimulated more rivalry between the Missions as they struggled to build more and better schools. Good results attracted more pupils. More enrolments also meant more school fees. In this light, the catholic denomination in particular revised the strategies after the war which paid dividends. All the catholic Missions united and together, opened teacher training colleges and secondary schools while expanding primary schools. All the Missions had four teacher training colleges with 429 students by 1956, comprising two catholic colleges at Makak and at Mbanga and two protestant colleges at Bafoussam and Sangmalima. <sup>75</sup>

The Mission secondary schools included the following Protestants colleges: Collège Évangélique de Libamba, new colleges at Banga, Bagangté, Douala, Élat, Metet and Sakbayémé; and the following Catholics colleges: Collège Moderne de Makak, Collège Sacré-Coeur de Douala, Collège Saint Esprit de Douala, Collège Saint-Jean de

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<sup>73</sup>NAY, Service de l'enseignement et de l'orientation professionnelle: Annuaire statistique du Cameroun, Service des statistique, vol.11.

<sup>74</sup>NAY, AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1948 and 1949. Also see Shu S.N., *Landmarks in Cameroon Education*, NOOREMAC., Limbe, 1985, p.147.

<sup>75</sup>NAY.AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1947.

Mbanga, Collège Saint-Esprit de Yaounde, Collège Vogt de Mvolyé and Institut Libermann de Douala,. In 1956, all these schools had an enrolment of 2,725 students.<sup>76</sup>

The catholic schools were strategically placed and demonstrated an overriding interest to spread catholic influence throughout the length and breadth of the territory. This followed a strategy developed during an internal reorganisation of the administrative structure in 1949<sup>77</sup> when a department of education was created to administer, coordinate and supervise all educational activities of the Mission. These innovations ultimately infused new blood in catholic educational activities and enabled the Mission to resist the protestant domination of the interwar years. The predominance of the catholic religion in Francophone Cameroon today began during this period.

Meanwhile, the Protestant Missions did not stop expanding. They collaborated so as to counteract the threat of catholic expansion. This collaboration started even before the war when they trained teachers at the École Supérieure and jointly operated a teacher training college at Foulassi from 1936.<sup>78</sup> Thus both individually and jointly they struggled to open more schools and establish both secondary and technical colleges. These efforts were slowed down when the protestant Missions activities were handed down to local churches.<sup>79</sup>

Notwithstanding the increased efforts made by the Government in the post colonial period, the contribution of the private agencies remained very significant. The following table further enhances an understanding of the provision of education during the period.

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<sup>76</sup>NAY. *Journal Officiel.*, 1956, pp.245-246.

<sup>77</sup>NAY.AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1949.

<sup>78</sup>NAY.AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1948.

<sup>79</sup>The protestant Missions handed over to the local churches between 1954 and 1956. see more in Van Slageren, J., op. cit.

TABLE 3.10: Statistics of Schooling by 1959.

Description	Government schools				Private Schools			
	No.	Boys	Girls	Total	No	Boys	Girls	Totals
Primary	728	72.273	30.799	103.072	2.012	157.400	70.511	227.911
Secondary	5	1.376	524	1.900	11	1.354	359	1.713
Teacher Training	1	36	-	36	14	617	69	686
Supplementary courses	15	1.456	390	1.846	19	1.235	109	1.344
Technical education	34	1.315	126	1.441	29	1.853	983	2.836
Total	783	76.456	31.839	108.295	2.085	16.249	71.922	234.490

Sources:Report of the Advisory Commision for the development of Higher education in Cameroon, UNESCO, 1962.

From the table, the total number of educational establishments at the eve of independence (1959) added up to 2,868. The Government supplied 27.3 per cent while the private agencies provided 72.7 per cent. Out of the total enrolment of 342,785 people at school, Government schools enrolled 31.6 per cent while the private sector had 68.4 per cent. Consequently, if the impact of French colonial policy is measured only from the education provided by the Government, it will be an overstatement to claim that Cameroonian attitudes were seriously affected by the education they received. However, it has been evident in the discussion of the post-war educational development that the colonial administration had a firm control over all education (public and private). The curricula, school structures, pedagogic methods, teaching aids and all aspects of school life except the teaching of religious instruction were uniform and controlled centrally by Government. Thus the French colonial education was not as peripheral as earlier assumed in this study. Such a uniformity centrally controlled by a regime that had cultural inculcation as an overriding interest could conceivably implant homogeneous values.

It was also presumed in the introduction to this study that the quantitative impact of the educational policy was insignificant, but the statistics of educational expansion during the post-war period refutes that assumption. The phenomenal increase from 17 per cent of the school age population in schools at the eve of the war (1938) to 55 per cent in 1955<sup>80</sup> and to 71 per cent at the eve of independence (1959) is evidence of the fact that an important proportion of the youths who became responsible adults at independence

<sup>80</sup>NAY. AR., *Journal Officiel*, 1955, p. 24.

received this cultural inculcation. This corroborates the assumption raised in the introduction that French colonial education was stronger than that of the other regimes.

Furthermore, the French colonial regime offered the same system of education to French and Cameroonian children, especially at the post-primary level, as indicated in tables 3.8 and 3.9. The curricula were the same with those in France. The assessments were by the same examination boards in France. Thus the French colonial education was ultimately more assimilationist and inevitably more influential.

It is however arguable that the Government's action in offering the same education was deliberate. The role of Cameroonians in demanding parity of education with the metropolis was significant because the ultimate aim of most students was to end up in French universities and professional schools. This required the acquisition of the same education as their counterparts in the metropolis. Many Cameroonians also abandoned further studies in Dakar which used to be the citadel for French colonial education in Africa, in preference for studies in France.<sup>81</sup>

Besides the search for diplomas in the French institutions, there was a desperate need at home for qualified people at independence. The qualifications were measured in terms of French education. Expansion in the economy also required competent Cameroonians aware of modern economic theories. Such training was not available in Cameroon. Thus decolonisation factors developed a growing interest in education that attracted Cameroonians to France. By 1948, there were already 194 Cameroonian students in France and by 1953, there were 357 scholarship holders in various fields.<sup>82</sup> At independence, Cameroon had more than 1,000 students abroad with some 504 registered in French institutions alone. Between 1957 and 1959, Cameroon had the highest number of African students in France.<sup>83</sup> The following table illustrates the number and fields of study.

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<sup>81</sup>Mbono-Samba M, who was one of the graduates of the Higher Primary School in Yaounde, told the researcher that they left Dakar for France as soon as the war was over.

<sup>82</sup>Le Vine V,T., *op. cit.* p. 525.

<sup>83</sup>Booth B.F.A., "Comparative Study of Mission and Government Enrolment in Educational Development in West Cameroon, 1922-1969". Ph.D. UCLA, 1973. p.298.

Table 3.11: Higher and Professional education.

Courses	Number of Students per Year.				
	1957/58	1958/59	1959/60	1960/61	1961/62
Medicine	59	64	62	59	70
Pharmacy	18	21	19	16	20
Law	43	52	49	51	47
Veterinary Medicine	2	-	5	6	10
Sciences	24	45	59	70	67
Arts and Humanities	29	38	39	46	53
Engineering	1	16	20	5	N.A.
Theology	-	4	9	7	5
Higher Professional Education	9	15	9	28	N.A.
Preparation for Higher Professional Education	13	24	24	28	N.A.

SOURCES: Compiled from Report of the Advisory Commission for the development of Higher education in Cameroon, UNESCO, Paris, 1962. Also see Reports to the United Nations Trusteeship Council. Also see also, Mballa O.R, Op. cit. p.525.

These statistics do not include the large number of students who proceeded on their own to complete their secondary school studies and the number of nurses and secretaries who were self-sponsored since education in France is without school fees. Exposure to the French educational model further increased the already acquired interest for French educational system.

Most of the graduates in the first two decades of independence were destined for lucrative jobs where they had rapid professional progress. This was further favoured by the relatively strong economy<sup>84</sup> supported by France and other developed nations and international organisations. The relatively good socio-economic climate at independence must have induced Cameroonian leaders to believe that the apparent successes came from the educational system, and found no reasons for reforms.

<sup>84</sup>The tropical cash crop boom of the 1960s and 1970s was followed by oil boom at the beginning of the 1980s.

This chapter started with the premise that French colonial education advocated the diffusion of the French culture throughout the colonial period. It was therefore assumed that the inculcation of French culture led Cameroonians to understand education only from a French framework. It was also assumed that the regime unequivocally discarded all African traditions and cultures. But the discussion has demonstrated that until the Second World War, French cultural impact through education was negligible and could not significantly influence the attitudes of Cameroonians. There was also ambivalence in the conceptual framework and practice of assimilation and association that invariably rendered total cultural implantation impracticable. The disparity between those who gained French citizenship under the assimilation policy and those who were considered under the association policy combined with the differences created between the *évolués* and the *indigènes* to complicate the successful attainment of the policies. The realisation of the deceptive status gained by the African elites caused them to rally with the rest of the society against colonial policies.

It was also noted that educational provision created disparity between the northern and the southern regions of the territory. At independence, the political power was dominated by people from the north who found it necessary to raise the standard of education in that area before considering reforms. Furthermore, education at independence ended at the secondary school level. Consequently, the post-colonial Government concentrated efforts on establishing higher and professional education for manpower training and could not devote time for educational reforms.

Evidently, the colonial Government did not apply any coercive measures to implement educational policies. Rather, Cameroonian desires for socio-economic and political mobility apparently urged them to imbibe French cultures and reject alternative proposals to adapt education. Additionally, the predominance of Missionary education operating within French cultural background and strongly controlled by the regime also re-enforced the inculcation of French values which became deeply entrenched in all those who went through the school system. These people became the leaders of Cameroon at independence and since "old habits die hard" they find it difficult to accept changes in the education system. Thus the resistance to reform is a combination of several factors and cannot be attributed only to colonialism. This<sup>is</sup> further supported by the next chapter which examines the development of the British colonial education policy in Cameroon. Since

British rule was peripheral the chapter examines why Cameroonians who went through that system resist reforms and remain attached to the inherited system.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CAMEROON EDUCATION UNDER THE BRITISH REGIME: 1916-1961.

British colonial education policies in Cameroon as in all British dependences were adaptationist. Unlike the French, whose assimilationist policies were implemented through a centralized administration, British education policies were developed and implemented indirectly through Missionary Societies and Native Authorities. Britain considered the acquired Cameroon territories to be part and parcel of their Nigerian colony. The two narrow strips had been acquired to resolve an outstanding boundary problem on the Nigerian-Cameroon border. (see map 3 p.42). These territories were therefore treated like all other similar places in Nigeria but suffered more neglect because of the distance separating them from the colonial capital at Lagos. Education policies developed for Nigeria were adapted. Colonial administrators and educators who served in the territories were recruited for Nigeria and never specifically for Cameroon.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, unlike the French<sup>2</sup>, British colonial policies and administrative strategies in Cameroon were peripheral. Yet some Cameroonians, encouraged by Nazi Germany at the eve of the war, and post-war developments held that they were not part of Nigeria and deserved better and direct British attention.

This chapter examines the impact on education of the disagreement between British interest and the determination of those Cameroonians to achieve special attention. It seeks also to understand why, in spite of this peripheral treatment, Cameroonians resist post-colonial reforms and retain the inherited British colonial system. The question is whether or not the nature of the British colonial policies and the method of implementation had an impact on post-independence attitudes. British dependence on Missions and the N.A. school systems for the provision of schools which contrasted with the French centralized

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<sup>1</sup>All the retired British colonial administrators interviewed during this research confirm that they were employed by the Nigerian service and were posted or transferred to Cameroon like in all other parts of Nigeria.

<sup>2</sup>See the discussion in chapter 3.



system is also examined to find out the implications for post-colonial regimes. The administrators and administrative system, the structure of schooling and teacher training as well as the curriculum are therefore analyzed to highlight their influences on post-colonial attitudes to education.

British colonial policies before the Second World War and during the postwar periods are markedly different. Before the Second World War, the education policy encouraged vernacular, infant and elementary education to improve on the traditional institutions and to prepare some Africans to assist the colonial services. But the socio-political and economic ramifications of the war on both the colonizers and the colonized necessitated a change in the formulation of the post-war policies. The thrust of the new policies was to educate competent people in secondary schools and professional institutions for responsibilities in self-government. Thus this chapter is sub-divided into two major parts to take account of the differences between the two periods.

### **British concept of colonial education:**

British colonial education policy in Africa was adaptationist.<sup>3</sup> Adaptation policies were supposed to encourage mass education through schooling but with the desire to relate this education to the traditional, political and economic cultures of the Africans so that traditional institutions could be developed and socio-political harmony enhanced. Adaptationist policies were also said to encourage local and national socio-political identification<sup>4</sup> and were supposed to secure the needs of the rural masses and reduce the social differences between the educated elite and the rest of the colonized population. These contrasted with the assimilationist policies which sought to create a minority elite imbued with colonial culture (see chapter three).

The implementation of these adaptationist policies was generally left to local colonial administrators, who controlled the development of curricula, the training of

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<sup>3</sup>Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, *Memorandum on the Education of African Communities*, Comd. 2374, 1925., p. 4. Also see Mumford W.B., "Comparative study of native education in various dependences" in *The Year Book of Education*, 1935., p. 824.

<sup>4</sup>ibid.

teachers, the supply of resources such as textbooks and the conduct of examinations. The provision of schooling facilities supposedly aimed at universal education whilst the curriculum policies encouraged teaching in African languages and the teaching of African history and geography. Local institutions and local agricultural needs were also to be encouraged by the curriculum policies which were also expected to enforce inter-relations between schooling and activities in local communities.

The content of elite education under the adaptationist policies was supposed to be related to the local life of the community and selection to advanced education had to be based partly on social status and contributions to the community and partly on ability. Thus by adaptation, mass education could be acquired without much risk of social division. At the same time, a substantial degree of local political self-determination could encourage local political stability and boost African cultures.

However, as educated Africans evolved, they felt that the practicality of the adaptationist policies was invariably aimed at maintaining Africans in their perceived primitiveness. These elites felt that the limitation of the scope of curricula reduced the hope for scientific and technological education considered essential for acquiring Western knowledge for development. The African perception of education was therefore shaped by the introduction of relationship between educational achievement and socio-economic advancement. Thus any insistence on adaptation was regarded by Africans as a constraint on development and African opinions on the type of education they wanted were never sought. Therefore there was a conflict between the British concept of colonial education and African perceptions. Such contradictions ultimately affected the realisation of all educational policies.

The demand for educated Africans to serve in the colonial services also required the acquisition of a more literary education than that available via an adaptationist education. Missionary societies also required well educated Africans to eventually become responsible for the Christian church. The type of education required to train such people was ultimately different from the education proposed by the adaptation policy. Since those who had this pattern of education enjoyed economic mobility and enhanced social status,

most Africans tended to be more attracted to it than to adaptationist schooling. Meanwhile, the content of this pattern of schooling was a replication of the metropolitan practice meant to ensure the suitability of the recipients for colonial service. Thus it was assimilationist and British colonial education could therefore not be consistently adaptationist. But how did the pursuit of the educational aims, the administrative, provision, curriculum and teacher training policies affect educational development and what impact did that leave on post-independent education?

### **Educational Development from 1916 to 1939:**

As stated earlier, British Cameroon became part of Nigeria from 1916. The northern part (British Northern Cameroon) was merged with the provinces of Northern Nigeria while the southern part (British Southern Cameroon) became a province within Southern Nigeria and placed under a Resident.<sup>5</sup> Most authors on British colonial rule in Cameroon hold the view that the territory was neglected. They argue that British Cameroon should have been treated like other dependencies. This contention underpins Cameroon peoples understanding of the colonial situation and suggest their readiness to internalize British education. However, British administrative design gained international support in 1922 when the League of Nations mandate over the territory authorised the administering power to

...constitute the territory into a customs, fiscal or administrative union or federation, with the adjacent territories under their sovereignty or control.<sup>6</sup>

The immediate British colonial education policy was thus adapted from Nigeria. It had been proposed in 1914 by Lugard, Governor General of Nigeria.<sup>7</sup> It became the 1916 education code for Nigeria.<sup>8</sup> It matured for implementation just when British Cameroon was subsumed within Nigeria. Hence, the nature and pattern of implementation had, inevitably, to depend on the administration's attitude to British Cameroon.

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<sup>5</sup>NAB. BA. 1916/1., Annual Report. Also see, BA.Sd/1916/1., Intelligence Report on Bamenda.

<sup>6</sup>Article 9 of the Mandate covenant in appendix 4.

<sup>7</sup>Lugard F.D., *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*; London, Frank Cass and Co., 1965, pp. 425-466.

<sup>8</sup>NAI. CSO.1/1., Lugard's despatch to the Secretary of State for the colonies.

As a colonial administrator, Lugard's interest in colonial education ultimately aimed at raising capable Africans to fill vacancies in the colonial service and in private colonial enterprises. Thus the policy aimed at inculcating obedient and respectful attitudes in Africans, for the sake of discipline. It emphasized character formation in school pupils. The administration further pursued this objective by insisting on the teaching of religious and moral instruction in all schools.<sup>9</sup> Ultimately, the importance attached to the education of colonial support staff led to elitist education and defeated the design for adaptationist education.

The 1916 education <sup>code</sup> for Nigeria authorised the award of Government grants was to approved schools. Inspectors had to award marks for teachers efficiency, teacher/pupil ratio, school sanitation and school buildings. The code further suggested the adaptation of education to African culture.<sup>10</sup> This implied emphasis on education for the development of the rural sector and the improvement of the socio-economic conditions of the mass of the population. The British considered land to be the natural vocation of the African and education had to enable the African to benefit from that vocation. It has been argued that the British aimed at avoiding the over production of unemployed educated elites.<sup>11</sup>

However, the need for some educated Cameroonians to assist in the colonial services as clerks, nurses, teachers, police officers , technicians and warders necessitated the establishment of literary education. This led to the categorisation of colonial education into literary and rural schools.<sup>12</sup> The few Government schools<sup>13</sup> provided literary

<sup>9</sup>NAI.CSO 26/03527., Governor to Secretary Southern Provinces, 1923.

<sup>10</sup>NAI CSO 26/1 19524., Lugard's address on Educational Development in Nigeria.

<sup>11</sup>NAI CSO 26/0357., Governor to the Secretary of the Southern Provinces, 1923.

<sup>12</sup>Fajana A., "The Evolution of Educational Policy in Nigeria (1842-1939)," Ph.D. Ibadan, 1969.

<sup>13</sup>See table 4.1. on p. 116.

education, while most Mission schools, provided adaptationist education.<sup>14</sup> The inevitable consequence of categorisation was the introduction of a new social order. The educated class was eventually to compete or rival the traditional elites because of their acquired economic and social status in the colonial service.

The literary schools used English for instruction since the graduates had to work eventually with the colonial administrators and European entrepreneurs. The rural schools were conducted in local languages in order to reinforce the adaptation policy. Here the objective was to improve on local craftsmanship and to inculcate the love for manual labour while being initiated into basic literacy. For any school to survive however, the literary content was required to attract the pupils. In the final analysis, none of these schools was exclusively assimilationist or adaptationist.

The notion of literary education should not be misconstrued for post-elementary education. The duration of schooling throughout the pre-1925 period varied between three and five years and the curriculum emphasized English language acquisition. Compulsory subjects included: reading, writing, English composition and grammar, English dictation, colloquial English and Arithmetic.<sup>15</sup> This was the nature of British colonial policy during the pre-1925 period.

Educational provision during that period was equally limited in scale. Schools restarted in 1917. Besides the former German school at Victoria, the British administration opened other schools in Buea, Kumba, Nyassosso and Ossidinge.<sup>16</sup> The first year of schooling was conducted in the vernacular, followed by two years of infant school, then four years of elementary school and two years of primary school. Up to 1922 the highest class in the province was standard four and the level of the pupils' achievement was said to be lower than that of equivalent standard in all of Southern Nigeria.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup>NAI.CSO 26/03527., Education Policy in Southern Provinces.

<sup>15</sup>NAB.Ba.1925/5., Report on Education to the League of Nations for 1924.

<sup>16</sup>NAB. Ba 1918/1., Annual Report. Also see table 4.1 on p. 116 and appendix 3 on p. 261.

<sup>17</sup>NAB.Ba.1923/1., Annual Report p.12. (elementary schools).

During this period private schools in Cameroon were either non-existent or barely thriving under the initiatives of enthusiastic Cameroonian Christians<sup>18</sup> in what became known as "hedge schools".<sup>19</sup> They could hardly attract government grants because of irregular attendance, especially during planting and harvesting seasons. They were unorganised, ill-equipped and had unqualified staff.<sup>20</sup>

The teacher-catechists, unlike the Missionaries suffered antagonisms from local rulers. It is probable that if the Government had shown interest in what the teacher-catechists were doing the conflicts could have either been avoided or minimised. They were accused of opposing the traditional cultures because of the acquired christian influence. Further reports associated events from christian practices to ethiopianism, a phenomenon that threatened colonial regimes in East and South Africa during the period.<sup>21</sup> But a close examination will point to syncretism rather than ethiopianism because no significant political issues were raised during the period. Rather, it was a poor understanding, interpretation and practice of the scriptures by ill-informed christians.<sup>22</sup>

It has been argued that since the early British administrative officers such as Major Ruxton, Captain Denton, Captain Duncan, Captain Buchannan Smith and Major Smith<sup>23</sup> were mostly retired army officers they did not show much concern for the efforts made by christian Cameroonians to sustain Mission education.<sup>24</sup> Even Brayne-Baker and Cardote who were sons of parsons, are said to have made little efforts to encourage the

<sup>18</sup>NAB.Ba.1918/1., Annual Report.

<sup>19</sup>NAB.Sd.1921/5., Basel Mission handing over to United Free Church of Scotland Mission, 1921, p.2.

<sup>20</sup>NAB.Ba.1918/1., Annual Report.

<sup>21</sup>Ayandele, E.A., *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914. A Political and Social Analysis*, London, Longmans, 1966., pp.177-178. It was a nationalist expression of anti-British feelings. For the situation in Cameroon, see Ndi, A., "Mill Hill Missionaries and the State in Southern Cameroons, 1922-1962" Ph. D. London, 1983., p. 43.

<sup>22</sup>NAB.Sd.1920/1., Rutherford J.W.C., op. cit. More details are in chapter seven.

<sup>23</sup>Annual reports of the period starting from 1916. Also see Ndi A., op. cit. p.181.

<sup>24</sup>Ndi A., op. cit. p.118.

Cameroonian teachers. But Brayne-Baker, whom the researcher of this study met in Exeter on 25 April 1995, argued that local administrators in the province were faced with many problems,<sup>25</sup> particularly the lack of communication system both within the territory and with Lagos and the absence of social facilities. However, the annual reports also reveal that these local administrators including Lugard made commendable efforts, first to replace the German Missions and subsequently to bring them back.<sup>26</sup> The efforts made can only be fully appreciated when Cameroon is seen as part of Nigeria.

In 1922, three significant events in the provision of schools were initiated. Firstly, the Mill Hill Catholic Mission was permitted to enter the territory and establish schools.<sup>27</sup> Secondly, there were the establishment of 10 N. A. schools.<sup>28</sup> Finally, H. J. Davidson was appointed as the first inspector of schools.

The appointment of an inspector of schools, introduced positive change.<sup>29</sup> Davidson was enthusiastic and hard-working. He appointed three third grade schoolmasters, three assistant teachers and six pupil teachers, in the Government schools. He insisted on the use of printed handbooks and schemes which he compiled to improve teaching. Thus as shown in table 4.1., there was improvement in schooling by 1924.<sup>30</sup>

Davidson organized regular vacation courses for teachers of public and private sectors. In July 1923, he arranged for Mr. W.E. Hunt, the acting Resident, Dr. Hanington,

<sup>25</sup>Bryne-Baker who served in the Nigerian colonial service, was in Cameroon during several tours starting in 1928 to the eve of independence.

<sup>26</sup>Most reports from 1921 at both divisional and territorial levels contain appeals by administrators to the authorities for the resumption of Mission activities.

<sup>27</sup>NAB. Ba. 1922/1., Annual Report. Also see Ndi A., op. cit 1983. This thesis has treated the arrival and development of the Mill Hill Fathers; while Booth B.F. "A Comparative study of Mission and Government involvement in educational development in West Cameroon, 1922-1969" UCLA, Ph.D. 1973 has examined Catholic Mission education during the period.

<sup>28</sup>See table 4.1.

<sup>29</sup>NAB Ba 1923/1., Annual Report.

<sup>30</sup>NAB.Ba 1924/1.Annual Report.

the Medical Officer, and Mr. E. Garnar, the curator, to give lectures to the course participants.<sup>31</sup> The problems of distance and transportation, warranted the organisation of a similar course in Mamfe under Mr. Hay for the two northern divisions.<sup>32</sup> The successes recorded at official school examinations in 1923 may be attributed to his efforts. Mr. Hyde-Johnson, the director of education for Nigeria unhesitatingly acknowledged Davidson's contributions when he visited the province.<sup>33</sup>

Davidson's efforts can be further appreciated when the enormous difficulties he encountered are considered. He was alone except when relieved by Mr. W.B. Stimson from Nigeria. There was no transportation, and the diversity in climate and vegetation combined with the difficult landscape in the territory to hinder his endeavours. However he surmounted the difficulties because of his zeal for the profession and the cooperation with the Missions, the teachers and the administration. His dedication caused him to catch pneumonia in the cold dry weather of Kumbo where he died in April 1924.<sup>34</sup> He was replaced by Stimson who in 1924 up-graded two of the Government schools to standard six level and four others to standard five level.<sup>35</sup> From these efforts, there was a marked improvement in schooling in the province which convinced the regime to consider the approval of a secondary school in 1925 as shown in table 4.1.<sup>36</sup> The increased number of schools and enrolments from 1922 may be attributed not only to the creation of the N.A.Schools but also reflects the criticisms and pressures that British colonial policy was facing. These reproaches suggested the need for a broad based policy to guide the development of education in the colonies. This section discusses the background of the policy.

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<sup>31</sup>NAB.Ba 1923/1., pp.40-41.

<sup>32</sup>ibid.

<sup>33</sup>NAB Ba.1923/1., Annual Report by H.J.Davidson pp.1-4.

<sup>34</sup>NAB Ba.1924/1., Annual Report pp.53-59.

<sup>35</sup>NAB.Ba.1924/1., Annual Report.

<sup>36</sup>NAI.CSO.26/09767., Report on the establishment of a Secondary school in Cameroons Province., 1923.



Table 4.1. Number of schools, enrolment and school age population..

Year	Gov't schools	N.A. Schools	Catholic Schools	B.M. Schools	Total Enrolment.	Total Population	School Age Population
1917	6	-	-	n.a	279	-	-
1918	5	-	-	n.a	596	-	-
1919	10	-	-	n.a	614	-	-
1920	10	-	-	n.a	658	-	-
1921	7	-	-	n.a	465	645.174	129.035
1922	7	10	3	1	1610	551.321	110.264
1923	6	12	3	1	2150	632.303	126.461
1924	6	12	3	33	3662	660.024	132.005
1925	6	12	3	114	6505	687.375	137.475

Sources: Annual Reports and Mission Reports. (n.a.: not available.)

### Background to the 1925 Education Policy:

A growing concern had been expressed even before the war by colonial Governments for a common guiding principle for colonial education.<sup>37</sup> Lugard's concern, was just one of many. Although colonial governments needed educated African support staff, they were worried about the implications of Mission education. Mission education was elitist and therefore a potential source of unemployment. They also doubted the relevance of the pattern of education to the needs of the colonial service. Thus, control over Mission education was considered necessary.

Meanwhile, Missionaries were also apprehensive of colonial Governments' control and intended to circumvent such policies that might restrain their educational objectives. Unlike the situation in India where the Educational Despatch of 1854 guaranteed effective co-operation between Government and private initiatives, Mission education in Africa had no security.<sup>38</sup> Thus they wanted co-operation with the Government, so as to provide safeguards against the rigidity and uniformity characteristic of bureaucratically managed schools. Such collaboration could encourage experimentation and initiatives. An

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<sup>37</sup>Whitehead C., "Education Policy in British Tropical Africa: the 1925 White Paper in Retrospect", in *History of Education*, 1981 vol.10. No.3, pp. 195-203.

<sup>38</sup>Whitehead C., op. cit. p.197.

atmosphere of collaboration between the state and the Missions could easily accommodate schools of special and distinctive types within a national system, which could help to fulfil Missions' objectives.<sup>39</sup>

This concern was discussed during the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910. The Protestant Missions agreed to co-ordinate their activities in Africa by means of a continuation committee charged with the responsibility of negotiating with the Government on the future of African education.<sup>40</sup> Under A.H.L. Fraser as chairman and J.H. Oldham as secretary, the committee proposed a memorandum on the future of education in West Africa which was presented to the Colonial Office on 5 April 1914.<sup>41</sup> They asked for a general policy on education in the African colonies, general policy outlining the role of the colonial Governments and the establishment of a commission to examine the policy.

The response from the Colonial Office in 1914 asked the Missions to suggest the policy but rejected the idea of a commission because the colonial Governments were supposedly, fully aware of their educational needs. The Government preferred each Mission in each colony to formulate proposals to the local administration. The war disturbed further discussions.

In 1923, the education committee of the Missions presented a memorandum on education to the Secretary of State for Colonies. It requested the Government to invest in colonial education if Africans were expected to advance in the scale of European perceived civilization and also in moral and material prosperity. And that

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<sup>39</sup>ibid.

<sup>40</sup>"Memorandum on Education in West Africa", IMC/CBMS archives, Box 263.

<sup>41</sup>ibid.

...the Secretary of State lay down the broad principles by which each educational policy in the African colonies will in the future be directed. Such a declaration made... will help to ensure the consistent carrying out of whatever broad lines of policy the imperial Government might desire.<sup>42</sup>

Thus, the 1925 Memorandum was strongly influenced by Missions. However, other forces were also involved in the process that eventually produced the 1925 White Paper. Severe criticisms of the colonial policies in general and particularly of the general welfare of the colonized during the Versailles Peace Conference influenced the establishment of an educational policy.<sup>43</sup> Colonial powers were blamed for doing little to alleviate the ignorance of the colonized in Africa. The limited scale of literacy achievement was considered the basis for the continued backwardness in the colonies.

The American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society also accelerated the process by requesting the Phelps-Stokes Fund to sponsor research on African education. Earlier research on Black American education had led Caroline Phelps-Stokes in 1911 to start the Fund as a philanthropic organization which in collaboration with the International Education Board in 1919 investigated the needs of the Africans with special reference to social, hygiene, religious and economic conditions.<sup>44</sup> During their first trip, to Africa the commission was in Cameroon from 19 to 25 of December 1920.<sup>45</sup>

Dr. Jones' report raised cogent arguments for policy formulation.<sup>46</sup> Agreeing with Lugard's earlier proposal, the report highlighted the need for the adaptation of African

<sup>42</sup>Oldham J.H., "Education Policy of the British Government in Africa" in *International Review of Missions*, 1925, p. 422.

<sup>43</sup>Roger-Louis, W.M., *Great Britain and Germany's lost colonies, 1914-1919.*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967, p. 78. Also see Smith, W.D., *The German Colonial Empire*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1978., pp.232-234.

<sup>44</sup>See "Phelps-Stokes Commission to West and South Africa 1920/21: Documents" in IMC/CBMS Archives, Box 263. Also see Lewis L.T., *Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education in Africa*, London, Oxford University Press., 1962.

<sup>45</sup>ibid; also see Jones T.J., Private Journal, August 1920 to March 1921, "Liverpool to West Equatorial and South Africa" in IMC/CBMS Archives, Box 263.

<sup>46</sup>Cowan L.G., "Education Policy in British Tropical Africa" in *Education and National Building*, London, 1965, pp. 45-52.

education in order to integrate the citizens into the process of development. It also proposed the need for the training of an elitist group from the existing leadership class who would be conscious of their responsibilities and commitment to the development of their societies and who would be entrusted with social, economic and political developments. This was at variance with that of colonial administrators such as Lugard who <sup>saw</sup> the elites more as supportive agents for colonial rule. It also differed from the objectives of the Missions which expected an elite group to enhance the establishment of local churches. However, similarity was found in the desire for a small elite group.

Unlike Lugard's proposal, the Phelps-Stokes report recommended mass education as a way of improving sanitation and adherence to Government law and order. It argued that the tiny percentage of educated population and the limited scope of infant vernacular education that was generally provided, could not effect the desired change.<sup>47</sup> It recommended a close collaboration between the colonial Government and Missionary bodies because of the Missions' widespread and significant involvement in African education.

The chairman of the Advisory Committee for Education established in 1923, was the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Colonies, Ormsby-Gore, who warned against a repeat of British errors in India. Lugard and Oldham were both retained as members of the committee while Hans Visser, former director of education in northern Nigeria, was the secretary.<sup>48</sup> The role of the committee was to advise the Secretary of State on matters relating to African education and also to assist in advancing the progress of education in the dependencies. The report of the committee's deliberation that emerged after two years (1923-1925) was submitted in a memorandum to the Secretary of State for Colonies and became the 1925 White Paper on education in British Tropical Africa.<sup>49</sup> It

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<sup>47</sup>Jones J.T. op. cit. p.10.

<sup>48</sup>NAI CSO 26/03527/vol.II., Minutes of the Advisory Committee of Native in Tropical Africa, pp.1-4.

<sup>49</sup>Advisory Committee in Education in the colonies., *Memorandum on the Education of African Communities*, Colonial No.103.

is evident from the range of people and the diversity of the pressures involved that the British colonial regime was a reluctant colonizer when compared to others.

### **The 1925 Policy and implementation:<sup>50</sup>**

The White Paper guaranteed Government support to Missions that conformed with the policy. The principle of co-operation between Government and the Missions was endorsed. Financial support through grants-in-aid to schools was established. Through the aid package, aided schools became possible replacements for Government schools. Thus criticisms of the British regime for leaving the provision of education to Missions ignored this agreement. Education boards involving Mission representatives were established in the colonies to advise local Governments.

The importance of the policy has been debated by scholars. Fanfunwa argued that the policy was crucial and pertinent because it served as a useful frame of reference until 1945.<sup>51</sup> Perham considered the policy guidelines as an important document.<sup>52</sup> But the success in Cameroon can only be assessed within the context of its implementation.

A Nigerian education ordinance of 1926 was enacted from the framework provided by the policy and became law in May 1926. It focused on the Nigerian society including Cameroon. A Federal Education Board was established in Lagos (without representation from Cameroon).<sup>53</sup> The only opportunity available to Cameroon was at the level of the Provincial Education Committee. But the first provincial education meeting in July and September in 1926, had no Cameroonian representative.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup>Colonial Office., *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa.*, (Cmd.2374)London, 1925.

<sup>51</sup>Fanfunwa A.B., *History of Education in Nigeria*, London, George Allen and Unwin Limited.,1974 pp. 125-126.

<sup>52</sup>Perham M., *Lugard: The Years of Authority: 1895-1945, The Making of Modern Nigeria* London, Collins., 1960 p.660.

<sup>53</sup>NAB. CSO. 26/03527 vol.11.

<sup>54</sup>NAB. Ba 1926/1., Report to the League of Nations, p. 70.

Following the meeting, schools were structured into infant or village schools (provided by N. A. and Missions), then primary or central schools in administrative headquarters (provided by the Government and covering both elementary and primary sections) and finally secondary sector (covering middle school and Normal classes in the Provincial headquarters only). The complete primary school course covered nine years. Indiscriminate opening of new schools was stopped. The Government had to train teachers, supply textbooks, inspect and supervise all except religious schools. Infant classes were permitted to use local languages and the Missions were allowed to continue with the use of Douala and Bali languages in their schools. All N.A. and village schools and infant classes of Government schools had a common curriculum comprising: Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Nature Study, Moral Instructions, Singing and colloquial English. Meanwhile English was recommended for all post-infant education.<sup>55</sup>

The problem of untrained teachers (in 1926, only 26 of the 228 teachers were trained, and over 90% of them were Nigerians) was also addressed. Teacher training which started in Victoria in 1925, was transferred to Buea in 1926 for closer supervision.<sup>56</sup>In September 1927, there was another Nigerian Education Code aimed at raising the standard of teaching and enabling teachers to guide their pupils not to alienate themselves from their society and cultures. The Governor had observed that

...pupils turned out by Nigerian (Cameroon inclusive) schools in the past regarded themselves too much as a special class or craft equipped to use pens, ink and paper as if they were the implements of trade.<sup>57</sup>

Therefore, the policy aimed at training teachers to become agents of adaptation. All teachers had to register with the Director of Education for Nigeria, who could refuse or strike off unsuitable teachers. All teachers had to be trained and inspected. The standards of the teachers' examination was raised and the number of passes to obtain teaching certificates increased from two to three subjects. Those who were teaching were given at least six years to obtain teaching certificates. Uncertificated teachers could not teach

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<sup>55</sup>NAB Ba.1926/1 Annual Report.

<sup>56</sup>ibid. p.53.

<sup>57</sup>NAB Ba.1927/1 Annual Report.

to 45 and in primary classes to 33.<sup>58</sup> No new schools were to open without the authorization of the Director of Education who had to certify that the requirements of the Board of Education were satisfied and particularly that the school was sufficiently equipped and staffed.

The bulk of Cameroon teachers were in Mission service and did not possess the required professional qualifications for registration. The Missions had barely reopened since their expulsion during the War. The Catholics re-started in 1922, the Basel Mission in 1925 and the Baptist Mission in 1927. The failure to include Cameroonians on the Education Board at the Federal and Provincial levels combined with the difficult measures taken against Mission schooling to raise a joint opposition to the policy. Consequently, Mission representatives on the Provincial Board mounted pressure for a change.

The policy was intended to provide guidance against any rapid detribalization and disintegration of the African society. This guidance was perceived and prescribed for Africans regardless of their opinions. The process involved blending what the regime considered necessary in European culture for Africans to know with what were local ways so as to prepare the African pupil to be an agent of change as stated below:

...education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible, all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life, adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas as an agent of natural growth and evolution. Its aim should be to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it may be and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole.<sup>59</sup>

The assumption underlying the formulation of the policy was that the African society had to remain static in order to adapt the European prescribed education to suit the mentality, aptitude, occupations and traditions. But the rapid socio-economic changes during the

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<sup>58</sup>ibid.

<sup>59</sup>Advisory Committee in Education in the colonies., *Memorandum on the Education of African Communities*, Comd. 2374, 1925 p. 4. Also see Mumford W.B. op. cit. p.824.

inter-war years combined with international developments to overwhelm European expectations. As such, the policy proved unadaptable in Cameroon.

The introduction of the N.A.Schools within the framework of Indirect Rule may also be interpreted as an aspect of decentralization following the local Government pattern in England. Government and Mission schooling were considered alien to the people while the N.A. schools were closely in touch with local interests.<sup>60</sup> Yet the ethos of the English education system was to develop the pupil's character and intelligence in order to enable him/her to fit in the existing society. Thus education could not serve as a cementing factor to strengthen those elements in African society which would have enabled it to adjust to the rapidly changing world system.

The Government failed to allocate finances for policy implementation. The financing of the new policy depended on the resourcefulness of the local colonial Governments. But these Governments hardly allocated adequate funds for education. As Hussey, director of education for Nigeria argued in 1931, the Education department was treated as "the cinderella of Government departments".<sup>61</sup>

Furthermore, whereas Nigerians and Missions operating in Nigeria were represented on the Federal Education Board Cameroon had no representation. It is possible that available funds might have been distributed first among those represented and Cameroon could only survive on the crumbs. The financial problem was heightened by the World Economic depression of the 1930s. The increasing scarce resources and rising costs led to severe cuts in Government revenues. The implications of such severe financial problems for social services were numerous. There was a slow increase of grants to aided schools and an increasing large number of unaided schools. (See table 4.2).

Limited Government spending heightened the regime's determination to exploit local resources to finance education. Thus there was insistence on the Native Authorities

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<sup>60</sup>NAB.Ba.1939/3 Annual Report, p. 59.

<sup>61</sup>Hussey E.R.J. "Education policy and Political Development in Africa," in *Journal of African Affairs*, vol.44 of 1945 p.73.



managing their own schools and also raising subventions for the Mission schools in their districts. They had to build and maintain their schools; employ, pay and train their teachers, while awarding scholarships to competent children for further studies.

For all its weaknesses the policy did develop a self-reliant attitude in the territory which was a tremendous asset to the sustenance of education. This continues today in the form of assistance from the Parent-Teachers Associations.<sup>62</sup>

Teacher training continued to pose problems. In 1931, the training school was transferred from Buea to Kake, a rural area in Kumba, to reflect the adaptation policy and option for ruralisation of education.<sup>63</sup> It was intended to develop teachers' interests in rural life. But teachers from urban areas tended to return only to similar environments. This further weakened the implementation of the adaptation policy. However, enrolment in the teachers college remained low. With all the reforms and pressures carried out in 1931, the enrolment at Kake was just 24 and by 1939 it was 33.<sup>64</sup>

Another dimension of failure associated with teacher training was the problem of retaining trained teachers in education. When trained teachers were forced to teach in rural environments against their will, they tended to abandon their work for other colonial or commercial jobs. Since the teacher training college offered the only post-primary education in the territory during the inter-war period, all commercial and administrative services looked to it for a supply of better educated people.

The implication for the training of teachers for the N. A. schools was even more profound since these schools aimed more specifically at providing education for the rural masses.<sup>65</sup> Most teachers declined to serve in those rural areas. By 1936, only seven out

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<sup>62</sup>Tembon M.M., "The Financing of Secondary Education in Mezam Division, North West province Cameroon; An uneasy partnership between family and state." Ph.D. London, 1994.

<sup>63</sup>NAB. Ba 1932/1., Annual Report.

<sup>64</sup>Reports to the League of Nations and Annual Reports for the respective years.

<sup>65</sup>NAB. Ba. 1924/1., Annual Report.

children to continue their education. However as all six Government schools were all located in urban areas the transferring of pupils from the rural areas to urban centres contradicted the policy of adaptation. In addition, it was not convenient for pupils and parents.

...owing to the paucity of elementary schools, many children had to travel a considerable distance through difficult country to attend them. The parents are not ready to allow their children to do this.<sup>67</sup>

Another implication of the N.A. school system was the antagonism that erupted between Mission schools (particularly the Catholic Mission) and traditional rulers. It is argued that:

Catholic opposition to the N. A. schools was given its official declaration in 1929 when the Western Cameroons (British Southern Cameroon) was being administered by Shanahan's vicariate.<sup>68</sup>

Catholic opposition to the N.A. school system was supported by Catholic Missions all over tropical Africa. The Catholic ordinaries of Nigeria and British Southern Cameroon adopted the resolution of the Nairobi Mission Education conference which regarded the growing influence of the N.A. schools as a betrayal of the state-Mission co-operation established by the 1925 policy.<sup>69</sup> They considered the traditional elites responsible for N.A. schools to be rivals and obstructionists to evangelical work. These rivalries and disagreements ultimately affected educational development. More significantly, seeds of social crisis resulting in disrespect for traditional order as well as the disintegration of social setting were planted. The Government did not intervene because it was felt that the

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<sup>67</sup>ibid.

<sup>68</sup>Omenka N.I., *The School in the service of Evangelisation, the Catholic Education impact in Eastern Nigeria 1886-1950*, Leiden, 1989, p.231.

<sup>69</sup>ibid., p.232.

<sup>70</sup>Perham M., *Native administration in Nigeria*, London, Oxford University Press, 1937, p.284.

Missions should have taken the initiative to establish collaboration with the local councils in order to have access to evangelisation.<sup>70</sup>

Another problem of the N.A. school system was instability. The unstable evolution of the N.A. schools can be explained by the weaknesses in some of the appointed leaders who in some places were forced onto the communities. This generated resistance to education policies and created tensions in the society, which was not healthy for educational development. The tension was inherited by the post-colonial Government and contributed to the early disappearance of the N.A. school system.<sup>71</sup>

Table 4.2: Government and N.A. teaching staff.

Year	Certificated Government Teachers	Uncertificated Government Teachers	Certificated N.A. School Teachers	Uncertificated N.A. School Teachers	Total
1923	8	25	-	14	47
1924	16	19	-	na	na
1925	18	29	3	27	77
1926	21	28	3	27	79
1927	21	29	na	na	na
1928	28	23	na	na	na
1929	32	12	5	43	92
1930	36	15	5	31	87
1931	40	12	5	28	85
1932	36	11	5	28	80
1933	34	10	7	23	74
1934	37	14	13	18	82
1935	38	14	14	14	80
1936	38	13	14	20	85
1937	42	12	20	21	95
1938	44	18	20	28	110

Sources: Compiled from annual reports and reports to the League of Nations.

<sup>70</sup>Perham M., *Native administration in Nigeria*, London, Oxford University Press, 1937, p.284.

<sup>71</sup>In 1962 all N.A.Schools were converted into Government schools by a presidential decree.

The dearth of trained teachers also affected the development of schools, because the policy for granting aid to private schools insisted on the availability of at least one trained teacher. But there was only one training school with limited places for Mission teachers. By 1927, there were only three assisted schools out of 258 private schools and by 1937 there were just 15 schools out of 227 private schools receiving Government assistance. (See table 4.3.)

Table 4.3: Schools, enrolments and Government assistance.

Year	Total No of Schools	Aided Mission schools	All aided schools	Grants in £.	Boys Enrolment	Girls Enrolment.	Total Enrolment.
1925	133	1	18	-	6,250	355	6,505
1926	150	5	13	184	6,439	537	6,976
1927	274	3	13	169	6,724	863	7,587
1928	216	3	20	472	6,910	877	7,787
1929	219	3	20	360	6,977	921	7,898
1930	220	3	18	360	7,249	879	8,128
1931	195	3	19	700	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1932	156	15	19	1,600	6,150	910	7,060
1933	158	14	20	1,224	6,340	936	7,276
1934	162	14	20	1,152	6,610	1,149	7,759
1935	190	15	18	1,775	7,093	1,196	8,289
1936	234	15	23	1,775	8,957	1,179	10,136
1937	252	14	24	2,360	9,989	1,490	11,179
1938	251	16	n.a.	2,310	9,211	1,510	10,721
1943	327	16	366	6,020	15,400	2,093	17,493
1944	354	22	332	8,361	18,011	2,470	20,481

Sources: Annual reports and Mission Reports.

The Government was not unaware of these problems. The Director of Education, E.J.R. Hussey, with the assistance of the four European staff - Messrs W.B. Stimson, W. Plant, G.R. Oake and E.A. Cadle embarked on a series of reforms to adapt the policy. Hussey's reforms of 1931 reconsidered the Government's role in controlling education.

State-Mission relations were re-examined. The teaching profession, school structures and school administration were reorganised.<sup>72</sup>

The policy on teachers' registration was amended and the criteria for registration based on age and good character rather than on qualification. The duration and structure of teacher training was extended from one to two years. The reform limited the village school to two years, then two years of infant school, four years of elementary schooling and two years of senior primary schooling. Thus full primary education was reduced from nine to eight years. In 1933, Cameroonians were appointed into the local advisory board of education. This marked the beginning of Cameroonian induction into British educational administration.

In 1935, the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies issued a memorandum on mass education.<sup>73</sup> It emphasized the educational significance of the inter-relation of all the factors in community life. This was in recognition of the intimate connection between educational policy and economic life, and the need for a close collaboration between the different agencies responsible for public health, agriculture and school.

There was also a steady increase in grants to private schools from 1932 (See table 4.2). McCowan, the new director after Hussey, also showed interest when in 1937, he promised members of the Cameroon Welfare Union that he was going to post three highly qualified and experienced teachers from Yaba College to help in the training of teachers in Cameroon.<sup>74</sup> He also promised the opening of a secondary school. In 1939 the secondary school, St. Joseph's College, Sasse, was opened by the Roman Catholic Mission with Government assistance. Thus despite the impact of the World Economic Crisis, school provision and enrolment improved remarkably. (See tables 4.3 and 4.4).

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<sup>72</sup>Hussey E.R.J., "Education policy and political Development in Africa," in *Journal of African Affairs.*, op. cit. Also see NAB. Ba 1931/1 and NAB. Ba 1932/1., Annual Reports.

<sup>73</sup>Colonial Office., *Memorandum on the Education of African Communities.* (Colonial No. 103) London, 1935.

<sup>74</sup>NAI CSO.16/40435., Education in Cameroon Province.

Table 4.4; Development of schools.

Year	Gov't Schools	N.A. Schools	Mission Assisted	Mission Unassisted	Totals
1922	7	10	-	-	17
1923	6	12	-	4	22
1924	6	12	-	36	54
1925	6	10	-	117	133
1926	6	10	5	129	150
1927	6	14	3	255	278
1928	6	12	3	193	214
1929	6	13	3	198	220
1930	6	13	3	198	220
1931	6	13	15	161	195
1932	6	14	12	124	156
1933	6	13	14	124	157
1934	6	18	14	132	170
1935	6	18	15	151	190
1936	6	18	15	195	234
1937	6	19	15	212	252
1938	6	19	16	220	251

Sources: Annual Reports, Inspection Reports and Reports to the League of Nations.

These were the educational developments before the Second World War. Despite the limited scope of educational provision, the schooling system introduced attractive British cultural elements that the pupils imbibed. For instance, musical drill in some of the schools became very fashionable while English football was reported everywhere to be popular. The Resident watched with amazement a concert and play acting of English drama by the staff and pupils of Government school Kumba. After the show he remarked

...it came as a revelation to me. I had no idea that these children could undertake so ambitious a play and perform it so well....The home made stage and costumes were most effective. All enjoyed it hugely and seemed to wish the play continued on indefinitely.<sup>75</sup>

These attractions urged many people to seek a literary education and reject the agricultural curriculum which was the basis of the adaptationist policy. The pupils and their parents could not compromise education with manual labour because they were farmers without

<sup>75</sup>NAB Ba.1925/5., Report to the League of Nations, 1925.p. 48.

education and they did not want their children to become farmers after acquiring education.

During the inter-war period, the admission of Germany into the League of Nations had implications on British rule that affected education. It guaranteed the return of German business people and Missionaries who repossessed their properties.<sup>76</sup> They had huge plantations and factories in the territory employing over 25,000 people. The rise of a totalitarian Government in Germany awakened revisionist claims for German lost colonies. Various German societies federated in 1933 to form the *Reichskolonialbund* in favour of the return of the German colonies.<sup>77</sup> The leading propagandist in the territory was Luppe who headed the local *Landesgruppe* of the Nazi party until his internment in Lagos 1939.<sup>78</sup> They instigated a pro-German sentiment and assured Cameroonians of a better future under German rule.

The great number of Germans (300) as against the British (90) nationals in the territory was threatening to the British regime.<sup>79</sup> All the Missionary societies had German nationals, varying from seven in the Mill Hill Mission to over 60 in the Basel Mission (including their families) while the German Baptist Mission was essentially made up of Germans. Resident F.H. Ruxton had stated in 1925 that even though the Germans were numerically superior to the British, the regime was competent to deal with any eventuality.<sup>80</sup> But towards the beginning of the Second World War, the regime regretted having allowed so many Germans into the territory.

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<sup>76</sup>The Mandate order of 1922 had excluded all non members of the League from entering and transacting business in mandated territories. See appendix 4, p. 267.

<sup>77</sup>Henderson W.O., *Studies in German Colonial History*, London, 1962 p. 120. Also see Lakowski "The Second World War" in Stoecker H., *German imperialism in Africa: From the beginning until the Second World War.*, London., Hurst and Company, 1986. pp. 379-418.

<sup>78</sup>Epale S.J., *Plantations and Development in Western Cameroon, 1885-1975: A Study in Agrarian Capitalism*, New York, 1985. p. 116.

<sup>79</sup>NAB. Ba. S2/1938., p. 93.

<sup>80</sup>PRO.CSO26/15844., Recognition of ex-enemy Missionaries admission to Cameroon.

Their influence was much more felt than that of the ruling regime.<sup>81</sup> Following the *Anschluss* of March 1938 between Germany and Austria, the fragility of British rule in Cameroon became even more delicate. The Germans residing in Cameroon retorted by hoisting the German flag in Victoria and indicating their preparedness to regain the colony.<sup>82</sup> The impact on education was incredible as pupils, teachers and parents puzzled about the future of the territory. The idea of a re-unification of the former German Cameroon was also born, an aspiration which eventually materialized at independence and may be considered the bedrock of the post-colonial reform impasse.

### **Education during the Second World War and Trusteeship era.**

The war marked a turning point in British imperial policies.<sup>83</sup> It threatened the collapse of the empire and weakened British control over the colonies. The need to adjust postwar colonial policies to regain the confidence of the dependencies and adapt to the new realities of world politics became crucial. Nothing in 1945 could be quite the same as in 1939 in a range of subjects coming under the general rubric of British colonial policy.<sup>84</sup> Opposition to colonialism by the U.S.A and Russian Governments also had a significant impact.<sup>85</sup> The military breakdown in South-east Asia gave Britain a profound shock. British imperial policy was henceforth marked by a series of efforts to come to terms with the changes as their implications were perceived combined with a British determination to maintain world power influence except where the pressures were irresistible.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>LeVine V.T., *The Cameroons from Mandate to Independence*, UCLA, 1964, p.38.

<sup>82</sup>NAB. Ba. S2/1938., p.3. of 10 May 1938. Despatch by Resident to the Chief Secretary of the Colony in Lagos.

<sup>83</sup>Whitehead C., "The impact of the Second World War on Education in British Colonial Empire" in Lowe R, (ed) *Education and the Second World War*, London, Falmer Press, 1992, p.151.

<sup>84</sup>Killingray D, and Rathborne R, (eds), *Africa and the Second World War*, London, Macmillan, 1986,p.1

<sup>85</sup>Ngoh, V.J., *Constitutional Developments in Southern Cameroons 1946-1961*.,Yaounde, CEPER., 1990,p.42

<sup>86</sup>Darwin, J. *Britain and Decolonisation: The retreat from Empire in the post-war world*, London, 1988, p. 333.



In Nigeria (including Cameroon), the Richard's constitution of 1946 set the pace for other post-war policy reforms to follow.<sup>87</sup> There was an administrative re-structuring of Nigeria into three regions; in the East with the capital at Enugu, in the North with the capital at Kaduna and in the West with the capital at Ibadan while Lagos remained the Federal capital. British Southern Cameroon fell under the Eastern Region and was subdivided into Bamenda and Cameroons provinces. The Federal Board of Education and the Director of Education were at the Federal headquarters in Lagos while deputy directors of education were in the regional capitals. Southern Cameroon educational problems fell under the supervision of the Deputy Director and Regional Board of Education at Enugu. A Provincial Board and a Chief Education Officer were established at Buea for the two provinces<sup>88</sup> while each of the two provinces had an Education Officer.

Although the new structure aimed at decentralizing decision making, Regional Boards still referred their problems to Lagos for final decision. It was not until the Macpherson's Constitutional change of 1951 that power was extended to the Regional Assemblies. Thus matters affecting British Cameroon's education were referred to Enugu. From 1954 the territory gained a quasi-regional status and the Provincial Board of Education received some autonomy but continued to refer their problems to Lagos. In 1958 they gained full regional status. This was the political and administrative structure in which education evolved during the postwar period.

The first post-war education policy was developed in 1947 and became law in 1949.<sup>89</sup> Following subsequent constitutional changes, the policy was revised in 1952 and in 1954. The Government objective in the policy was defined as

... not merely the training of the intelligence or the acquisition of the means of livelihood but the raising of the general level of the life of the whole people and the provision of adequate facilities for their development, physically and spiritually.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>87</sup>NAI.CSO., Richard's Constitution of January 1946. Also see more in chapter nine.

<sup>88</sup>Southern Cameroon became two provinces: Bamenda Province and Cameroons Province. See more in chapter nine.

<sup>89</sup>NAI.FR1/B. Col.262., see Sessional Paper no. 20 of 1947.

<sup>90</sup>Report to the United Nations General Assembly for 1948, p. 97.

The aim was "to bring a basic primary education within the reach of every child and make such a provision for secondary and higher education and post-primary vocational training to educate for the economic and social development of the country".<sup>91</sup> The failure to achieve this goal in the mandate period had been blamed on the lack of economic development, geographical remoteness and poor communications. Measures were taken to overcome some of these impediments. For example, in 1947 the road linking the two provinces was opened.<sup>92</sup>

The broadened scope of the educational programme provided by the policy, reflected its objectives. Education was not confined to schooling but re-emphasized its adaptation to rural life, the extension of teacher training, the development of secondary education, the encouragement of female education and literacy amongst adults and work with women in villages and compounds.<sup>93</sup>

The school system was restructured to provide eight years of primary education, six years of secondary school, two and three years of teacher training. The scope of the curriculum began with a Nursery section which taught good physical habits and how to be socially co-operative. No precise curriculum was prescribed at this level but the teaching of story telling, games, simple handwork and activities suitable for the age were suggested. This was followed by the Infant section which taught numbers, writing, speech training, dictation and conversation in the vernacular or simple English as well as nature study, hygiene, religious knowledge, physical education, drawing, colour work and singing. In the Junior Primary (standard I and II) speech-training, dictation, oral composition in vernacular (where one was approved) and English (reading, writing, written composition), arithmetic, religious knowledge, handicraft, music, drawing and colouring were taught. Finally the Senior Primary: (standard III to VI) had to teach oral and written composition, reading and grammar in English and any approved African language (where there was one), writing, arithmetic, religious knowledge, rural science, domestic science and needle work (particularly for girls), history and civics (citizenship),

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<sup>91</sup>ibid. p. 195.

<sup>92</sup>NAB. Ba. 1947/1., Annual Report.

<sup>93</sup>ibid., pp.97-98.

geography, drawing and colouring, handicrafts, physical training and organized games, singing and music.

The curriculum of Teacher Training Colleges reflected primary school subject content in addition to some secondary school subjects. While in training the teachers had external examinations in English Language, Arithmetic, Principles and Methods of Education organised from the regional headquarters. Practical teaching was also assessed by a team from the headquarters and oral English was tested. Practical and theoretical Rural Science, Physical Education and preparation of teaching aids together with real classroom teaching were also tested. The internal examination comprised history, geography, English literature, Religious Knowledge and for some students, further work in Mathematics, Rural Science and Handwork.

The secondary school curriculum was guided by British overseas school certificate examinations boards (especially the Universities of London and Cambridge External Examination Boards). The subjects were; English language, English Literature, Mathematics, Natural Sciences (Biology, Chemistry and physics), Agriculture, West African Language (usually Hausa, Yoruba and Ibo with none from Cameroon) classics (Latin and sometimes Greek) and modern foreign languages (French, German, Spanish), History (British, European, British Empire and Commonwealth) Geography (with stress on Physical Geography), Handicrafts, Mechanical Drawing, Religious Knowledge, Physical Training and organised Games, Arts, Music and Domestic Science subjects.

The role of the voluntary agencies, particularly the Missions, as an educational force was strengthened. New conditions for granting financial aid to private schools included the local community's share.<sup>94</sup> School fees were instituted. Primary schools were classified into "junior" (four year course) and "senior" (four year course) sections and Government aid varied according to these levels. The amount of grant payable to primary schools consisted of the recognised expenses of running the school less the assumed local contribution which was based on varying figures multiplied by 35 in the case of urban

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<sup>94</sup> Report to the United Nations, 1949.

schools and by 25 for rural schools.<sup>95</sup> This was in essence the structure of education in the post-war period.

From the curricula for all the different levels of schooling described above, including Teacher Training Colleges, it is evident that apart from a few subjects (local languages where they existed, African history and geography taught from books written from Euro-centric perceptions), the rest of the educational content and practices together with the implied philosophies and ideologies remained alien to African frameworks of reference and tradition. It may be argued that Africans asked for this pattern of education<sup>96</sup> but there is no doubt that the new socio-economic order introduced by colonialism motivated the demand. Besides the search for certificates to enhance social mobility, there was an inevitable psychological factor urged by Cameroonians determination to attain equality and share in the socio-economic and political status which the British colonizers and Nigerian civil servants were enjoying.

#### **Government Provision of Schools:**

The Government continued to provide only the five primary schools started during the mandate period. These were located at the divisional capitals of Bamenda, Buea, Kumba, Mamfe and Victoria. The N. A. schools increased from 27 in 1946 to 35 at independence.<sup>97</sup> There were no Government secondary schools. The Government Teachers Training College opened since the mandate period was upgraded in 1944 to train higher elementary teachers for all agencies. The Government further supported the Missions to open and run their own teacher training institutions. In 1952, the Government opened a trade centre in Ombe for the training of highly skilled tradesmen and artisans who were supposed to acquire "sound practical training with the allied theory but with emphasis on apprenticeship rather than studentship".<sup>98</sup> Courses were taught in motor mechanics, electricity, carpentry and joinery, bricklaying, smithing and welding.

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<sup>95</sup> Report to the United Nations :1948-49 Supplement to the laws of Nigeria, Lagos,1952, p.216.

<sup>96</sup>Foster, P.,*Education and Social Change in Ghana*, Chicago, Routledge and Kegan Paul., 1965.

<sup>97</sup>Report to the United Nations,1948-1959. See table 4.5. At reunification, N.A. schools became Council Schools.

<sup>98</sup>Report to the United Nations General Assembly, 1955 p. 171.

**Mission Provision of schools:**

Government assistance to Missions resulted in faster expansion in the development of Mission primary schools as shown on table 4.5.

Table 4. 5: Post-war development of schools.

Year	Gov't & N.A	Mission Unast.	Mission Ast.	Total
1946	33	159	36	228
1947	33	159	36	228
1948	34	174	35	243
1949	32	86	141	259
1950	32	83	148	263
1951	30	84	152	266
1952	31	93	161	285
1953	37	112	170	319
1954	30	116	173	319
1955	28	133	196	357
1956	31	149	205	385
1957	31	141	222	394
1958	31	116	302	449
1959	35	94	298	427
1960	35	-	-	-
1961	35	-	-	499

Sources: Compiled from reports to the United Nations.

The total number of Mission schools was nearly doubled from 228 in 1946 to 427 in 1959. The number of pupils enrolled increased from 25,174 in 1947 to 64,076 in 1959 within which were 16,833 pupils in unassisted schools in 1946 and 49,012 in 1959 as shown on the next table. The fluctuations in number and enrolment in the unassisted schools indicated continued expansion and attempts to meet Government required standards. From 1953 to 1959 female enrolment grew from 6,769 to 15,834 while male enrolment increased from 27,189 to 48,242.

Table 4.6.Trained teachers.

Year	Gov't. & N.A.		Mission Assisted		Mission Unassisted		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
1948	268	22	243	62	488	8	1,091
1949	248	35	504	52	243	12	1,094
1950	175	36	597	71	226	1	1,106
1951	158	32	670	70	128	2	1,060
1952	241	97	761	93	140	3	1,335
1953	174	38	709	132	145	4	1,202
1954	172	38	1.142	171	31	6	1,560
1955	169	33	894	168	239	8	1,511
1956	193	48	950	163	289	15	1,658
1957	213	55	1.085	156	320	19	1,848
1958	86	24	1.477	162	157	24	1,720
1959	129	19	-	-	-	-	1,930

Sources: Compiled from reports to the United Nations.

**Teacher Training:**

Government support enabled the Basel Mission and the Catholic Mission to establish teacher training colleges in 1944 at Nyasoso and Njinikom respectively.<sup>99</sup> The Njinikom school was finally established at Bambui in 1947 while that of Nyasoso was transferred first to Bali (1946) and finally to Batibo in 1949. The Catholic Mission also opened the first female teacher training institution in Kumba in 1949.<sup>100</sup> The Baptist Mission opened their own training centre at Great Soppo in 1954. It was temporarily in Belo but was brought back to the permanent site in Great Soppo.<sup>101</sup> In 1955, the Catholic Mission started one college in Muyuka which moved to Bojongo<sup>102</sup> and another in Bambui which was transferred to Tatum in 1957. These institutions helped to improve the number of trained teachers as indicated in table 4.7.

<sup>99</sup> NAB.Ba 1946.

<sup>100</sup>Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations ,1949.

<sup>101</sup>Report to the United Nations, 1954.

<sup>102</sup>Report to the United Nations, 1955.

## Secondary Education:

Secondary education was provided only by the Missions but with a strong support and encouragement from the Government. After the first secondary school was opened at Sasse by the Catholic Mission in 1939, the Basel Mission opened one in Bali in 1949. The Catholic Mission opened the first girls secondary school in Okoyong-Mamfe in 1956. These were the three secondary schools until the eve of independence in January 1961 when the Catholic Mission opened another boys school in Bamenda.

The Missions contribution to the development of education was therefore quite significant, but the importance of an increasing Government financing (table 4.7) must not be ignored. The rapid expansion during the trusteeship era may be explained by the regular visits of the United Nations Trusteeship Commission and their reports on the postwar education development from 1949.<sup>103</sup>

Inherent in British policies were also weaknesses that rendered colonial education vulnerable. The neglect of female education had serious disadvantages for educational development in Cameroon as in Britain. By 1935, only one girl had successfully completed primary schooling.<sup>104</sup> It is possible that an earlier emphasis on the education of girls could have enhanced a wider acceptance of education. However, schools were often far away from most homes and involved long daily trekking distances and sometimes required accommodation near the schools. Parents found the risks involved unacceptable for their daughters.<sup>105</sup> Also, since colonial education aimed primarily at educating those who on graduation would be employed in the colonial service the targeted population were boys.

Female education did constitute part of the principal concern of Cameroon elites that resulted in the appointment of Dr. Phyllis Kabbery to investigate the status and functions of women in the territory.<sup>106</sup> This was followed by the appointment of a Woman

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<sup>103</sup>See reports to the United Nations from 1949 to 1959.

<sup>104</sup>NAB. Ba 1935, Annual Report.

<sup>105</sup>Interview with S.N.Njinimbam and Z.N. Memoh, in August 1993.

<sup>106</sup>CSO.26/44249., Cameroon Report to the League of Nations, 1944.

Education Officer.<sup>107</sup> The establishment of a Teachers Training institution and a secondary school for girls gradually motivated many parents.

Table 4.7: Expenditure and Enrolments.

Year	Expenditure £	Primary School Enrolment	Secondary school Enrolment
1947	42,943	25,174	151
1948	62,039	25,810	160
1949	117,000	26,331	239
1950	149,000	28,860	267
1951	181,000	29,790	322
1952	190,000	30,240	330
1953	202,000	34,345	394
1954	244,055	33,850	426
1955	256,000	44,600	450
1956	274,000	46,800	468
1957	330,000	50,600	460
1958	338,000	54,900	513
1959	380,000	64,000	571
1960	418,475	73,000	660
1961	502,170	86,257	780

Sources: Annual Reports.

Reports to the Trusteeship Council for the respective years.

Estimate of the Southern Cameroons, 1960-61, 1961-62, p.21.

There was also a neglect of the less able or handicapped children. No policy was developed to cater for children presenting special social, physical, mental or psychological needs, nor did the teacher training curricula provide training skills towards these needs.

Through grants the Government kindled inter-denominational rivalry that sowed seeds of discord which are still traceable. The freedom accorded to Missions to educate and evangelise at will and the competition to gain adherence as fast as possible led to conflicts between the Missionary societies which affected their followers. Some zones were declared exclusive areas for particular denominations. <sup>sectarian</sup> dissent, sometimes of

<sup>107</sup>Report to the United Nations, 1951.



serious magnitude was noticed between protestants and catholics. These rivalries affected education since children could only attend schools provided by their denomination.

This chapter began by arguing that although the British colonial education policies were adaptationist and peripheral, and depended on voluntary agencies for its provisions, it might have been strong enough to influence the attitudes of Cameroonians. A study of the N.A. school system and Government collaboration with missionary societies, reveal the development of common educational cultures characterized by communal collaboration and local initiatives. The policy favoured decentralization of education and therefore gave power to local authorities and church leaders to manage education. The attempts by post-colonial regime to seize the power through reforms aimed at centralization under Government control is inevitably resisted.

The Mission schools imbued their pupils with common christian virtues which are ignored by the post-colonial reforms. Since Mission education was dominant and was received by almost all those who are parents today, the tendency is for these people to regard their period of schooling as "the good old days" and to resist any change that disregard particularly the moral content. The contemporary Church leaders who replace the missionaries would inevitably oppose any reform that disregards religious education and introduces strong central control as it has been proposed.

In conclusion, it is evident that although the British education policies were peripheral, the circumstances of their development and the strategy applied, had deep rooted impact on Cameroonians. The development of local initiatives for school provision and the liberal latitude towards Missions, contrasted with the centralized state controlled French system (see chapter three). The implications of these differences for post-independence reforms cannot be under-rated.

The next chapter examines the development of education under independent re-unified Cameroon regime. The main thrust is on the difficulties faced by the new government. to redress the inherited problems and harmonise the educational legacies bequeathed by the French and the British regimes.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CAMEROON EDUCATION DURING EARLY INDEPENDENCE PERIOD 1961-1966.

Independence in Cameroon, as in many other African nations, marked an important turning point in the history of education. Africans felt for the first time that they could determine the form of education that suited them. Earlier attempts had been restricted by the colonial masters. The decolonisation period in Africa had been characterized by ceaseless attacks on the inadequacies and the irrelevance of colonial education for African development. Christian Missions and colonial Governments had been blamed for providing education that neither integrated the individual in the society nor enhanced development. As discussed in chapter one, critics saw colonial education as the underpinning factor in the slow rate of African development. Colonial education systems in particular, were accused for being used by capitalists to exploit the underdeveloped world and subjugate their peoples<sup>1</sup> whilst Missionaries were accused of being the lackeys of imperialism.

These attacks were consistent with the accusations levied against colonial rule by the new African leaders at independence. These leaders considered colonial education to have separated the recipients from their society through the teaching of christian European civilization.<sup>2</sup> They maintained that where colonial and Mission education prepared the individual for life it was life outside the mainstream of the African society, life as a servant of the colonial Government, European firm or Mission.<sup>3</sup> Nyerere particularly blamed colonial education for being elitist, designed to meet the interests and needs of a very small proportion of those who entered the school system. The 1961 Addis Ababa Conference questioned the relevance of the inherited colonial education for African development. It was proposed that African education should produce men and women interested in technological development.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Watson, K., (ed) *Education in the Third World.*, Croom Helen., London, 1982.

<sup>2</sup>Ukwu, I.U., "Education for Self-Reliance and National Development" in *Education for Self- Reliance*, Enugu, 1989.

<sup>3</sup>Nyerere J.K., *Education for Self-Reliance*, Government Press, Dar es Salaam, 1967, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup>O.A.U. "Outline of a plan for educational development: Conference of African States on the development of education in Africa", Addis Ababa, 15-25 May 1961.

These criticisms led to reforms or what became known as the *Africanisation* of education.<sup>5</sup> Some nations changed their school curricula and teaching/learning material. In Cameroon, these concerns were widespread in both the French and the British trusteeship territories during decolonization. There was anxiety, hope and expectations that a unique Cameroon education system would be established from a Cameroonian perspective. But to what extent did the reforms differ from the colonial systems? What was the influence of the inherited policies? What were the post-1961 influences of the two colonial powers and what influence did the Missions continue to exert?

This chapter examines the attempts made by independent Cameroon Government to *Africanise* and unify the two inherited educational systems following the re-unification. The objective is to find out the impact of the two legacies on reforms. The scenario at both the national and regional levels are discussed to show the impact of internalized colonial attitudes and the continued influence of former metropolis through financial assistance and supply of expatriates. The continued impact of Mission education on the reforms is also discussed. A brief introduction of the new political setting is important to place educational problems in perspective.

### **Independence / Reunification and Education:**

On 1st. January 1960, French Cameroon became independent. On 1st. October 1961, British Cameroon was also granted independence. British Northern Cameroon became integrated in Nigeria while British Southern Cameroon re-unified with the former French Cameroon to form a federation. The former French Cameroon became the Federated State of East Cameroon, and the former British Cameroon became the Federated State of West Cameroon.<sup>6</sup> At this stage, two major aspects of educational reforms became evident. The first was to *Africanise* each of the two inherited systems and the second was to unify both systems. But on the accession to independence, East Cameroon had signed

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<sup>5</sup>Afari-Gyan, K., "Nkrumah's Ideology" in Arhin, K., (ed.) *The Life and Works of Kwame Nkrumah*, African World Press, New Jersey, 1993. p.164. For more on Africanisation, see Mwereria, G.K., *Re-Africanisation of Knowledge: The roots of the African politics of education*, Kenyatta University Press, Nairobi, 1987.

<sup>6</sup>Government of Southern Cameroon., *Fact Sheet of the Southern Cameroons*, Government Press, Buea, 1961. p.1.

bilateral treaties with France for economics, military and cultural cooperation.<sup>7</sup>

Britain ceased to have any direct relations with West Cameroon except through the Federal Government.<sup>8</sup> These relationships signalled the pattern of future support and influence of the metropolis.

Disagreement during the constitutional conference on the structure of institutions in the new Federation focused on centralization or regionalisation and indicated the difficulties of unifying the inherited systems.<sup>9</sup> Education in East Cameroon had been maintained at independence under the Ministry of Education, Youth and Culture in a centralized structure as inherited from the French colonial administration. Meanwhile, West Cameroon had fought and gained the cherished decentralized education system by achieving regional status in the Nigerian federation as discussed in chapter four.

However, the 1961 Constitution partially resolved the problem by establishing a Secretariat of Education in each of the Federated States, to be responsible for primary education while the Federal Ministry of National Education, Youth and Culture at the national capital became responsible for all post-primary education in the nation. Although the Constitution specified the levels and types of education falling within the competence of the Federal authorities and the regional Governments, the limits of the regional Governments remained unresolved and the West Cameroon Government seemed determined for decentralization. This disagreement was manifested in the reforms they carried out respectively and underpin the present stalemate.

### **The Federal Ministry of Education, Youth and Culture:**

The decree of 12 March 1962 established the Federal Ministry of National Education, Youth and Culture. The structure and attributions of the ministry remained the same as it was inherited from the colonial administration. There was no innovation to reflect the new political reality of the nation. The internal service of the ministry was

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<sup>7</sup>PRO.CO 554/1745., Movement for unification of Cameroon under trusteeships of United Kingdom and France.

<sup>8</sup>PRO.CO 554/1661., Report on the Separation of Southern Cameroons from Nigeria.

<sup>9</sup>PRO.CO/1662., Terms for unification of Southern Cameroons with East Cameroons. Also see Ngoh, V.J., *Constitutional Developments in Southern Cameroons 1946-1961.*, CEPER., Yaounde, 1990., chapter one.

structured into departments, "*directions*", headed by directors. The department of administration was responsible for all matters of personnel, accounts and equipment related to secondary, technical and higher education and the administration of the examination board. The department of higher education was responsible for co-ordinating and applying Government policy on higher education, with particular attention to the development of university education. The department of secondary and technical education were responsible for the administration of all public and private institutions of those levels. Meanwhile, the department of youth and sports coordinated and applied Government policy on youth and sport, culture and mass education (literacy).

The Bureau of Educational Research and Curricula<sup>10</sup> was responsible for curriculum development, teaching methods (*Pedagogy*) and evaluation and the educational and administrative inspection of secondary education. It was also responsible for bilingualism and the coordination of the curricula in the two states of the Federation. It produced the lists of school textbooks recommended by ministerial circular for all schools in East Cameroon. The Bureau had inspectors (none of whom was Cameroonian until 1976) for French, English, mathematics and physics, natural sciences, history and geography.<sup>11</sup> Until 1976 French teachers were inspected by inspectors from France (under a bilateral co-operation and technical assistance agreement).

The Minister appointed an officer, "the cultural delegate", to represent him over all matters relating to secondary education, technical education, youth, sports, mass education, and after-school and out-of school centres in West Cameroon with a resident in Buea. These delegates represented the Minister in their respective regions on all post-primary education while each of the Federated states had the "Secretariat for Education" for primary education. Although the functions of the Federal Ministry were apparently different from those of the Secretariat of State at the regional level, there were overlaps which led to confrontations.

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<sup>10</sup>This is the office that is represented today by L' Inspection Generale de Pedagogie, which is responsible for all curricula development and assessment and the training and retraining of teachers.

<sup>11</sup>The major problem posed at this level was for the French inspectors to inspect schools in the anglophone zone which had a different educational system.

The ministry controlled all private schools including Mission schools. They received instructions from the Minister and the award of grants depended on reports of inspections by Government inspectors. All the Protestant Missions were represented at the Board of private education by one representative while the Catholic Mission also had one representative. Ministerial authorisation was required for any new school. This required teachers to have certain minimal qualifications. As discussed in chapters three and four, private education was very significant in Cameroon at independence (60 per cent of the primary and 45 per cent of secondary schools in East Cameroon and 95 per cent of primary and 100 per cent of secondary education in West Cameroon). Thus the new measures were bound to affect particularly the Mission schools in West Cameroon where an appreciable measure of autonomy had been allowed during the colonial period.

The Federal Government also took measures to unify the two educational systems. Law No. 63/COE/13 of 19 June 1963 organized secondary and technical education; and law No. 64/CE/11 of 26 June 1964 specifically reformed private secondary and technical education.<sup>12</sup> Secondary schools were reformed to have two levels comprising a junior section of five years and a senior section of two years. Secondary schooling in East Cameroon had therefore to change from a four years junior section and three years senior section to five years and two years respectively as in West Cameroon. The *Probatoire* examination taken in the sixth year of secondary education was dropped.

To experiment with the possibility of a bilingual system of secondary education where students could be educated in the two systems concurrently, a bilingual secondary school was proposed to start with effect from 1963 with 35 students from each of the two states. Teachers appointed to this school came from France, Britain and Cameroon to ensure absolute bilingualism.

Higher education had been introduced by the colonial Government in East Cameroon in 1959 with the establishment of the Cameroon School of Administration. This was followed in 1960 by the National School of Agriculture. In 1961, France and UNESCO helped in the establishment of Higher Teacher Training Institute. The Federal University was established in July 1962. With the assistance of *Fondation Française* the

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<sup>12</sup>UNESCO., *World Survey of Education*, UNESCO Publications., Paris, 1971. p. 257.

courses of the Faculty of Law and Economics leading up to the *licence en droit*, *licence en science économiques* and *certificat de capacité en droit* started on 16 June 1962, while the degrees conferred by the Faculty of Arts and Humanities started on 8 October 1962.

Therefore, France made valuable contributions in kind and cash to enhance a successful beginning of the university. The administrative hierarchy of the university and its institutions were headed until 1975 by French expatriates.<sup>13</sup> The different faculties and institutions were linked to French universities and institutions of higher education. But, until the creation of the department of English Language in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities (1968), and the department of English Law in the Faculty of Law and Economics, the courses and assessment systems were all based on French precedents. Yet as a meeting point of two cultures, the university was undoubtedly seen to occupy a unique national position.<sup>14</sup>

This structure gave the ministry central control over education in the entire nation. The French influence remained dominant until the appointment of Cameroonian directors and inspectors. Their presence and contributions during the move to reform ultimately contributed in sustaining the inherited French colonial education system.

Meanwhile, the British intervened only when invited by the Federal Government.<sup>15</sup> For instance the British Council in Cameroon was requested to organise English Language courses at the Linguistic Centre and also to supply teachers for the English Department at the university. Eventually they trained Cameroonian teachers to replace the British expatriates. They also supplied British Volunteers to serve as sciences and English Language teachers in secondary schools.<sup>16</sup> These interventions also served to rekindle interests in the British inherited system.

This was the situation of the educational development as a result of the reforms by the Federal Ministry of Education. It was a reflection of the inherited French system.

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<sup>13</sup>Jean Imbert (Rector, 1971-1975) was the last French expert to head the university.

<sup>14</sup>*ibid.*, vol. 4., 1966, pp. 271-276.

<sup>15</sup>PRO.FO 371/167377., Annual Review for 1962.

<sup>16</sup> Information from Manley, who was responsible for the Volunteer Service.

Inevitably, the overlap of ministerial prerogatives over regional control were bound to create tensions between the Federal Government and the West Cameroon Government and differences in the perceptions of the two groups on the issue of reform were unavoidable. Furthermore, reforms by the respective regional Governments were bound to strengthen the disagreements and reduce the hope of unifying the two systems.

### Reforms in East Cameroon:

Primary education, including the training of teachers for primary schools was left to the Governments of the Federated states and placed in each region under a Secretary of State for Education. The decree of 7 June 1962 organized the Secretariat of State for Education.<sup>17</sup> Each of the Secretariat of State had inspectors of schools.

Reforms in East Cameroon, although part of Federal reforms were a continuity of reforms started during decolonisation in preparation for independence. Priority was given to mass education at the primary level where the stated aim of primary education was to give the child the necessary knowledge required for everyday use and for "modern civilisation" while avoiding the separation of such an individual from traditional society.<sup>18</sup> Implied in this objective was the French understanding of "civilisation" as contained in "*mission civilisatrice*". Civilisation in this context stood for "modernity" which meant everything European and a disregard for all traditional cultures.

To attain mass education, the East Cameroon Government's objective was to establish schools in all localities so that every child could have access to primary education. Large classes were to be reduced and the plan was that more teachers were to be trained or retrained. This was not successfully achieved.

Another important objective was to confront the delay in developing female education. This goal was considered urgent because the *évolués* felt that the inequality in male-female education did not reflect "modernity". Consequently, there were plans to build specialized schools for girls and to add Home Economic sections to teacher training schools so as to increase the number of female teachers. It was also proposed that the girls

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<sup>17</sup>ibid, p. 271

<sup>18</sup>NAY.AR., Journal Officiel, p.245.



leaving school at the end of primary education should be assisted in the process of integrating themselves in their communities in order that they could motivate others and also become the agents of change in their societies.

The most important and urgent task was that of expanding education in the northern region which had been neglected throughout the colonial period. Most of the schools in the north had remained only at the stage of "bush schools" until 1956 when the primary sections were progressively introduced.<sup>19</sup> There was need to accelerate the change. But the major problem was the lack of educated people (particularly teachers) from the region. Another problem was that of the settlement pattern. Most of the villages were sparsely populated and widely dispersed. Consequently, the reforms could only be effective if boarding schools were established to bring the pupils together.

It is important to mention the significant role of the Pitoa pilot boarding school near Garoua. The aim of this school was to recruit and train the future leaders of the region. The boarding facilities gave opportunities for children from remote villages to attend school. An attempt to blend the cultural diversity of these pupils through living together could have resolved part of the social problems of the region. But this was never fully addressed. The establishment of a teacher training course in the same site should have given the opportunity for the teacher trainers to use the local resources to adapt the training to the realities of the region. The student-teachers received general and professional education and had the opportunities of having their practical teaching not only on the campus but in some of the village schools.

In spite of attempts to make education more relevant to the environment, the French language and French culture dominated the Pitoa scheme. There was a disagreement between the Muslims and non-Muslims which pre-dated the colonial period. The Muslims were considered invaders who had seized the land of the original inhabitants. These Muslims who were mostly Fulbe of Semitic origin, considered themselves overlords to be served by the conquered non-Muslims. This had been the practice since the conquest of Fombina during the raids of the central Sudan and the

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<sup>19</sup>NAY.AR., *Journal Officiel* of 1956.

establishment of Othman Dan Fodio's Empire.<sup>20</sup> The colonial regime had neglected the problem and the post-colonial Government reform failed to redress it. However, the school administration and training core were French and had to maintain the same colonial policy.

If the Pitoa scheme had considered this historical disagreement and made attempts to introduce a balance between the rival factions, the reform would have solved a major social problem. Instead, the school recruited mostly Muslims of the Fulbe background to the disadvantage of the indigenous tribes. As such, the Fulbes dominated the new elite role. Therefore it can be said that the educational reform in the northern region perpetrated the division between the Muslims and the non-Muslims which colonial rule left unsolved.

The Pitoa scheme also failed to solve the problem of female education in the region. Both traditional practices and the Muslim religion restricted the freedom of women and female education remain a cause for concern until today.<sup>21</sup>

Primary school duration in East Cameroon was maintained at six years. At the end of which the pupils sat for the *Certificat d' Études Primaires Élémentaires* (CEPE). The age limit for schooling in primary schools ranged from six years of age to sixteen years. Children of six to ten years were accepted in the initial class (*section d'initiation au langage*). Those from seven to eleven were accepted in the preparatory class (*section préparatoire*), those for the elementary class (*Cours élémentaire*) were from eight to thirteen years of age while those for the senior primary (*Cours Moyen*) were between ten and sixteen years. It was also officially stated that all instruction had to remain in the French language.

The school curriculum as reformed since 1956 were maintained, reflecting former metropolitan system although some aspects of the History and Geography of Cameroon were incorporated. The syllabus on Hygiene included studies on tropical diseases and the rules of hygiene which could cultivate the prevention of such diseases. The syllabus on

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<sup>20</sup>Njeuma, M.Z., *Fulani Hegemony in Yola, (Old Adamawa) 1809-1912*, CEPER., Yaounde 1978.

<sup>21</sup>Brok C, and Cammish N.K., *Factors affecting Female Education in Developing Countries*, O.D.A. Occasional Papers on Education., 1991. pp.38-47.

observational sciences paid attention to the fauna and the flora of the locality. The civics instruction subject was supposed to introduce the children to an understanding of the political structure of the nation and provide them with basic notions of economics. They were also supposed to know about the importance of international organisations such as the United Nations Organisation (U.N.O.).

There were no qualified teachers to implement the changes. Nor were there in-service training for the new orientations. The Government had also to depend on France to provide teacher trainers and supply the necessary finances. This combined with the persistent departure of teachers leaving to take up other careers to create a problem. The solution was to revise teachers salaries. The civil service salary scale was used to up-grade Government teachers and also to award them "inducement allowance." Elementary teachers and assistant primary teachers were classified in the same category as skilled and highly skilled workers. Meanwhile, primary and secondary teachers were classified as technicians, while primary inspectors, secondary teachers holding degrees or the *agrégation* were classified in the managerial and upper managerial grade.

This led to a rapid increase in the number of people opting for the teaching profession and expansion in training colleges. Between 1966 and 1971, the shortage of elementary teachers and assistant primary teachers could be regarded as negligible if *moniteurs* (untrained but experienced teachers) were considered. However, for the same period, the shortage of primary and secondary teachers, 18 per cent was to be met by French teachers supplied through technical cooperation. At the level of higher education with *agrégation*, the shortage for the same period was reckoned at 27 per cent of the strength planned in East Cameroon. These gaps had to be filled by foreign teachers<sup>22</sup> ultimately from France.

Primary inspectors, and inspectors for mass education, youth and sports were trained in France and at the Secondary Teacher-training College in Yaounde by French teacher trainers supplied under technical aid. Those recruited had the *baccalauréat* and five years teaching experience. They were given a specialized training for two years after which they sat for a qualifying examination. (*Certificat d'Aptitude aux fonctions*

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<sup>22</sup>op. cit. p. 271.

*d'Inspecteur de l' enseignement Primaire*, CAIP). Besides inspecting teachers, the inspectors were also responsible for the administration of primary education at divisional levels where their presence further spread the French influence.

These reforms combined with rapid school growth to stimulate expansion in schools as shown on table 5.1. From 246,223 pupils in primary schools in 1956 and 377,089 at independence in 1960, there were 602,463 pupils in schools by 1966<sup>23</sup> in East Cameroon. At the level of secondary schools, enrolment grew from 6,100 in 1956 to 8,688 at independence and by 1966, that number tripled to 29,059.<sup>24</sup> Technical and commercial education also experienced rapid development. From 5,667 students in 1962/63, there were 8,186 by 1966. The university which started with 85 students in 1962, had 1,646 by 1966/67 school year.<sup>25</sup> The involvement of French aid and experts maintained post-1961 colonial influence.

### Reforms in West Cameroon:

The West Cameroon Government considered itself a full state preparing for inter-state institutional integration with East Cameroon. It also expected that the situation in Nigeria where regional Governments reformed their educational systems could be practised in Cameroon. Therefore since the educational system practiced till independence was more related to Nigeria, the Government embarked on a more comprehensive reform and educational planning. The reforms were not limited just to the primary level as stipulated in the constitution. An education policy and planning encompassing primary, secondary and tertiary education was developed. The feeling of acquired autonomy over policy was expressed in the statement that

Government (West Cameroon) believes that education is an investment in human material which can reap rich dividends. No policy for education can be relevant unless it takes into account all the economic, social, political and spiritual factors of our time and circumstances.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>*Cameroun Economique*, Paris, 1967/68.

<sup>24</sup>*ibid.*

<sup>25</sup>Shu S.N., *Landmarks in Cameroon Education*, NOOREMAC., Limbe, 1985.

<sup>26</sup>Ministry of Education and Social Welfare., *West Cameroon Policy: Investment in Education*, Government Press, Buea, 1963 p.1.

The immediate intention was to accelerate the rate of educational expansion so as to attain universal primary education in West Cameroon by 1970<sup>27</sup>. But this depended on the regular supply of trained teachers and the availability of school structures. The existing schools could not accommodate all the children of school age. Consequently, plans were proposed for opening more schools and expand the existing ones.

Following the law No.63/COR/5 of 1963 the time spent at primary schooling in West Cameroon dropped from eight to seven years in 1964 and was supposed to drop further to six years by 1965 so as to have the same level as East Cameroon. The main objective here was not only to implement the Federal law but to create room for mass education. It was estimated that primary school enrolment had to increase from 95,000 in 1962 to 120,000 by 1964 and to 150,000 by 1966 if the target of universal primary education was to be attained by 1970.<sup>28</sup>

Related to this growth was Government concern for female education. While the number of boys in school doubled from 35,516 in 1955 to 67,454 in 1962, that of girls had tripled from 9,050 in 1955 to 27,705 in 1962 but still lagged behind that of boys. The government was urged to establish Domestic Science Centres and vocational schools for those who did not want to follow a secondary course or become teachers. They could follow courses in cookery, needlework and general house craft.

Growth in school enrolment ultimately required extension of school buildings and their equipment. The Government was determined to assist communities and voluntary agencies to improve school buildings through grants. As evidence of this intention, the sum of ten million francs was placed on the draft estimate of 1963/64 for approval by the West Cameroon parliament.

Since the length of primary education had been reduced, a proposal was made for diversification of post-primary education to cater for vocational and general education in order to make education beneficial to the individual and the society. The Government requested UNESCO to advise on a three year junior secondary programme to be followed

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<sup>27</sup>ibid.

<sup>28</sup>ibid.

by two years of vocational education aimed at agriculture, technical and commercial training. The intention was to give opportunities to graduates of primary education who were gifted academically to continue in secondary schools, whilst those talented in farm work or artisan skills transferred to Farm Institutes, - Technical or vocational schools. In this connection, the West German Government agreed to start a Commercial school in the territory in September, 1964.

On the challenging bilingual reality of the nation,<sup>29</sup> the policy cautioned against hasty introduction of French in schools within the region. It was suggested that the teaching of French had to be intensified at the post-primary level until such a time when the teacher training colleges could have turned out sufficient teachers proficient in French to permit the graduation and harmonious placing of French on the primary school curriculum. The West Cameroon Government also approved the Federal Government's plan for a bilingual secondary school where students could be educated concurrently in the two systems.

The policy for secondary education aimed at making places available for all primary school children who proved able to benefit by further academic qualification. This needed an urgent preparation for 985 places and required at least 14 more secondary schools by 1965. This required more support to the Missions to open the schools. Secondary school examination was to change from the West African School Certificate Examination Board to London University General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) Examination Board with effect from June 1964, because of the inhospitable atmosphere caused by the separation of West Cameroon from Nigeria. The subjects prescribed by the examining board dominated the curriculum and destroyed the hope of Africanisation and thus consolidated British educational pattern.

Unlike the East Cameroon Government, Mission education was held in high esteem in West Cameroon. This may be explained by the fact that all members of the Government were educated by Missions. But more importantly, it might be explained by the inherited tradition from the British. Hence, the policy strongly supported a

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<sup>29</sup>Article 1 of the Constitution made English and French the official languages, see appendix 6., p.287.

continuation of the type of collaboration that existed between the Missions and the colonial Government.<sup>30</sup> The policy stated that

Government appreciates the fundamental influencing of sound religious training in the formation of character and it is our intention to see that religious instruction takes its rightful place in the curriculum of schools.<sup>31</sup>

This contrasted with the Federal Government's view on Mission education. However, the policy also supported the creation of non-christian schools but maintained religious instruction in the Government schools of West Cameroon. It is worthy to note that religious instruction was not offered on the official curriculum under the French and the Federal Government. Even now, certificates in religious knowledge are not accepted by the Government. On the contrary the West Cameroon Government was determined to sustain the collaboration system with religious organisations started during the colonial period.

The reform also recognized the importance of technical education. There was only one inherited trade or apprenticeship school at Ombe which was up-graded and expanded into a technical college to enable the production of competent technicians and give opportunities for the talented graduates to further their education abroad. Meanwhile the development of technical/commercial schools by enterprising Cameroonians which started timidly during the decolonisation period, started to expand and the Government decided to encourage them through the award of subventions.

Teacher training was inevitably linked to the proposed scheme for expansion in primary education with the aim of providing 100 percent trained teachers in all the schools to cope with universal primary education in 1970. This required the urgent establishment of more training colleges and the expansion of existing ones so as to increase the number of trained teachers from 360 Grade 111 and 180 Grade 11 per annum to 600 Grade 111 and 300 Grade 11 annually. This would require the establishment of

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<sup>30</sup>Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, *Education policy for West Cameroon*, Buea, Government Press., 1963.

<sup>31</sup>ibid.

four more Grade 111 and Grade 11 colleges by the Missions and at least one Government teachers training centre capable of an extension to provide a Grade 1 course.

A proposal was made to start a teacher training programme of one continuous course of five years for Grade 11 teachers to provide a better theoretical background based on a secondary general education programme for the first three years and followed by two years focused on pedagogical training and practice. Furthermore, the policy proposed a combined Grade 11 and Grade 1 certificate course which previously had been obtained only from Nigeria or from the United Kingdom.

A request was also made to UNESCO for advice on a training scheme for teachers for the junior classes of the secondary school while maintaining that the upper classes could only be taught by university graduates.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile the policy envisaged a diversification of the curriculum of the Cameroon College of Arts and Science on the lines of the model in Nigeria to train teachers for junior secondary schools.

The policy proposed the expansion of Cameroon College of Arts and Science to include Technology. It was hoped that it could become a decentralized college of the Federal university, offering intermediate courses. An appeal was made to the U.S. Government for assistance towards this goal, considered crucial in the development of the required manpower.

The impact of these reforms on educational expansion was tremendous as shown in the table 5.1. The number of training institution increased to 12 by 1964 and to 14 by 1966. The number of student teachers enrolled in these institution also increased from 396 in 1961 to 1,379 in 1966.

The expansion in primary schools had a direct effect on the Secondary and Technical education sector during the period. From three boys secondary schools and one for girls in 1961, the number increased to 16 by 1966 and enrolment rose from 780 students in 1961 to 3,388 by 1966/67 as shown in table 5.1. The number of technical/commercial colleges also increased from just one in 1961 to 16 by 1972 and the enrolment increased from 1,401 in 1962 to 3,400 by 1966/67<sup>2</sup>.



Table 5.1: Enrolments (1960 to 1966):

Year	Primary Schools		Secondary Schools		Technical schools.	
	West	East	West	East	West	East
1960	73.400	377.089	660	8.688	-	-
1961	86.200	330.393	780	10.840	-	-
1962	95.200	427.129	1.401	18.403	1.401	5.667
1963	106.100	489.808	1.658	19.173	1.658	6.104
1964	116.900	551.880	2.481	21.974	2.481	6.387
1965	124.300	576.416	3.008	25.767	3.008	7.328
1966	152.300	602.463	3.388	29.059	3.400	8.186

Sources: Cameroun Economique 1968/69;  
Annual Statistical Report of West Cameroon: 1965/66-1966/67.

The demand for manpower to replace the departing colonialists was the motivating force behind the reform. Sydney Phillipson’s report had indicated in 1959 that only 50 per cent of the colonial civil service were Cameroonians.<sup>32</sup> The departure of expatriates in 1961 created 410 vacancies at the administrative and technical level.<sup>33</sup> The implication of the dearth of qualified staff had immediate consequences for education. Starting from the Prime Minister, J.N.Foncha, a former Mission headmaster, the cabinet was dominated by former teachers. Since teachers were the most qualified people at the time, the tendency was for the Government to pull out many of the experienced teachers from their classrooms to fill the empty posts in the administration. Furthermore, in the absence of sufficient secondary school leavers many primary school leavers were employed to fill the lower ranks as clerical officers. This sustained the old notion that literary education was good because of the availability of employment opportunities. Consequently, any reforms proposing changes on the literary pattern is resisted.

The policies hardly reformed education because both states focused only on the situation in the respective territories without considering the wider implications of the

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<sup>32</sup>Phillipson S., *Financial, Economic and Administrative consequences to Southern Cameroons of separation from the Federation of Nigeria*, Federal Government Press, Lagos, 1959, p.1. Also see, PRO.CO 554/1661., Report on Separation of Southern Cameroon from Nigeria.

<sup>33</sup>ibid.

union. Neither a specific policy was formulated to address the important issue of national unity through education nor was there a policy in respect of the content of the syllabuses. All the reforms failed to consider the education of children with special needs which never figured on the agenda of the colonial regimes. There was no planning for the development of teaching/learning resource materials. Thus education had to continue to depend on foreign assistance for the production of teaching aids.

The idea of setting up a bilingual school in Buea embracing the cultures of the Francophones and the Anglophones could have created a nucleus for national integration and thus contributed enormously to the socio-cultural understanding of the nature of national integration and the pattern of education. But the policy did not provide any mechanisms to motivate those who became interested. Consequently the students tended to revert and re-focus on their original educational systems. Thus the school and subsequent ones have failed to fulfil the objectives of developing strategies for harmonising the two systems. They have all become two schools representing the two systems in the same campus.

The rush to train manpower accounts significantly for the inadequacies of the reforms. The pressure to open many schools and enrol more pupils without provision for funding encouraged the Government to depend on foreign aid. All proposals for change sought for the assistance of either France, Britain, West Germany or UNESCO. West Cameroon's separation from Nigeria marked the end of financing from the Colonial Development Fund and the Commonwealth trade preference.<sup>34</sup> This placed the economy of the territory in a limbo at the beginning of independence<sup>35</sup> and obliged the leaders to depend on the Federal Government to negotiate for foreign aid. It cannot be denied that foreign-aid programmes of many industrialized nations foster inter-dependence. Thus, by appealing for their assistance, the policy was openly declaring its continued dependence on the industrialized world and accepting their influence.

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<sup>34</sup>PRO.FO 371/161618., Agreement to keep West Cameroon in Commonwealth Preference Area.

<sup>35</sup>Booth, B.F., "A Comparative Study of Mission and Government Involvement in Educational Development in West Cameroon, 1922-1969." Ph.D. UCLA, 1973.p. 273.

Seeking foreign aid implicitly committed the educational system to foreign influence because as it has been argued, "foreign aid, particularly intellectual assistance, cannot be separated from the policy goals of the donor country or for that matter from the policies and orientations of the recipient nations' Government."<sup>36</sup>

Post-independence relations with France and French speaking countries further widened the gap between the two systems and forestalled the reforms. The influence of France in all educational institutions in East Cameroon after independence and the assistance in expatriates and educational materials perpetuated their influence. Their policy against Mission education was upheld by the Federal Government and contradicted with the West Cameroon policy. Whereas reforms in West Cameroon were implemented by the Missions, those in East Cameroon were by the Government. Hence, while the Missions were gaining more influence in West Cameroon, those in East Cameroon were marginalised. As such the Missions in West Cameroon hesitate to support reforms that will hinder their educational efforts.

Relations with Francophone African countries have also affected reforms in Cameroon. After the 1963 law introducing a uniform structure of schooling in Cameroon, the Federal Minister of Education participated at an all African French speaking ministers of Education conference in Dakar-Senegal in 1966 during which curriculum reforms for all French speaking African States were adopted.<sup>37</sup> The structure disagreed with the 1963 law.<sup>38</sup> The Dakar structure was implemented in East Cameroon in defiance of the decision taken by the Higher Council of Education following a meeting presided by the Vice President of the Federal Republic. The meeting had resolved that all foreign names of school certificates (G.C.E., B.A.C., etc) had to be dropped and replaced by Certificate of General Education (C.G.E.).

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<sup>36</sup>Altbach P.G., " The distribution of knowledge in the third world: A case study in neocolonialism" in Altbach P.G., (ed) *Education and the colonial experience*, Transaction Books., New Brunswick., 1984. p. 273.

<sup>37</sup>Ministere de l' Education Nationale., *Programmes de l' enseignement general.*, edition 1982/83., CEPER, Yaounde, 1982.

<sup>38</sup>law No.63/COR/5 of 3 July 1963., op. cit.

West Cameroon started implementing the 1963 law by reducing primary education from eight to seven years in 1964, with the intention of dropping to six years by 1966. But the adoption of the Dakar reform<sup>39</sup> indicated East Cameroon unwillingness to implement the law. Henceforth, the West Cameroon Government stopped the implementation. This accounts partly for Anglophone resistance since then and explains why they have a seven year primary course.

The dilemma of educational reform in Cameroon seem to be a general <sup>problem</sup> ~~problem~~ in most African countries. However, some degree of success has been achieved, where some socio-economic or political forces have been placed in motion. For instance, in Ghana, the expansion in educational provision was in part the outcome of the economic policy which had been planned to cope with educational expansion.<sup>40</sup> The Ideological Institute of Nkrumah provided a strategy which enabled the state to prepare the minds of the citizens for the outcome. The Government of Ghana was in dialogue with the people to encourage their participation in the effort to improve upon their standard of living through education. The inclusion of a large number of artisans and tradesmen on scholarships to study abroad raised hopes in the policies and encouraged acceptance of the change that Nkrumah introduced even though it was not very different from the colonial package.<sup>41</sup>

However, the eventual failure of the Ghanaian experience can be attributed to the economic programme which did not expand fast and far enough to absorb the growing number of graduates. Other factors including political instability and world economic order account for the failure. However, with an academic hindsight, some Ghanians have argued that Nkrumah's reforms were not mere rhetoric because many people gained from it.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>See current copy by Ministere de l' Education Nationale., *Programmes de l' Enseignement General*, edition 1982-83., CEPER, Yaounde, 1982.

<sup>40</sup>Arhim K., op. cit. pp.53-79.

<sup>41</sup>ibid., p. 63. In 1952, Nkrumah sent 107 artisans and tradesmen to the UK for further training. This motivated other people to develop interest in apprenticeship education.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.p. 79.

Neither the preparation of the people's minds nor the incentive in apprenticeship education ever occurred in Cameroon. The cultural diversity and the split in colonial allegiance (British and French) combined with economic and political forces to make it difficult for the policies to succeed. The State bureaucracy, which employed graduates and stimulated the demand for higher education, contributed to the problems that prevail now.

Similar to the Ghanaian reform, was that of Tanzania where Nyerere introduced education for self-reliance.<sup>43</sup> The theoretical implication here was the suggestion that classroom work and extra-curricular activities should be linked through a transformation in teaching and learning methods that emphasize experimental and actual experience. In so doing, it confronted in an integrated way many of the socio-political problems that education was creating or reinforcing in the post-colonial period.<sup>44</sup> Nyerere's concept of *Education for Self-Reliance* had a well founded cultural foundation, the *Ujamaa* social setting which invokes the African extended family system. All Tanzanians were made to see themselves as members of a single family where each individual had to contribute to the general welfare of all. It involved a common indigenous language to which the people could identify.

Although Nyerere's strategy was socialist and had a striking similarity to the Marxist philosophy of education which posits that once a socialist revolution has occurred, schools must be transformed to provide knowledge of the class struggle, and the struggle for production, it is arguable that his attempts to use education for social and political ends necessarily conforms with that of Marxist-Leninists. Morrison has argued that his socialism was strongly tinged with liberal humanitarianism.<sup>45</sup> This is true because Tanzania remained relatively opened to foreign influence which is not the case in socialist states. Thus the approach was based more on moral grounds and was less powerful than those applied by Marxist politicians. Nyerere had a well prepared and favoured background which combined with the respect he commanded in Tanzania to gain him the support he needed to implement the policies.

<sup>43</sup>Nyerere J.K., op. cit. 1967.

<sup>44</sup>Morrison D.R., *Education and Politics in Africa, The case of Tanzania*, C. Hurst., London, 1976, p.259.

<sup>45</sup>ibid., p.260.

Unfortunately, neither a favourable cultural philosophy nor a clearly defined conceptual framework was developed in Cameroon to re-state the education policy in relation to the general development of the nation. Although Ahmadou Ahidjo, the first president of Cameroon, echoed the tone introduced by Nyerere when he declared for "*Development Auto-centré*" (Self-Reliance Development), he neither suggested the role of education in its implementation nor did he suggest the implication of the policy for education. Rallying all political parties into a single party (Cameroon National Union) in 1966 could have afforded the opportunity of developing a common ideological base if the influences and ramifications of the inherited colonial diversity was not allowed to dominate.

The difficulty in resolving the differences between the two systems has also hindered the reforms of the individual systems. Neither of the two systems offers a curriculum that respond to national goals. In content and in structure, both systems maintain the inherited colonial patterns that no longer gives satisfaction even to the needs of the former metropolis.

The current world economic order that has so much affected African economies, has had two significant implications for Cameroon education. Firstly, the Government can no longer fulfil the financial obligation to education as required by the inherited systems. Consequently, the financing policy should be reformed. Secondly, pressure from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund to downsize the civil service has affected the teachers who in the majority are civil servants.

This chapter has shown that post-colonial education reform in Cameroon has remained at a standstill. The inherited colonial education systems left by the French and the British have not changed. Hindsight reveal that reforms since independence have been geared towards improved access to education rather than to the relevance of education to the new socio-economic and political demands of the new nation. Both teachers, pupils and parents became increasingly used to the type of education and attempts to change are resisted. Thus the greatest achievement of the post-colonial Government has been the expansion of schooling leading to the attainment of a high rate of literacy. The unresolved disagreement on the structure of state institutions (central or regional), has also delayed the harmonisation of the two systems and given room for more people to become

permeated by the inherited systems. Following improvements in the economy and expansion in the civil service at independence, certificates guaranteed socio-economic and political mobility which many people attributed to the success of the education system. Consequently, post-colonial education has failed to fulfil the dreams at decolonisation because all the reform attempts have failed to *Africanise* and to reconcile the differences between the two systems. Implicitly too, the failure to reform education has had inevitable implications for the integration of the institutions of state.

Since colonial education was largely provided by Missionary societies under varying conditions, the next two chapters intend to examine the educational development of the Basel Mission, to find out how Mission policies might have contributed to the current stalemate.

## CHAPTER SIX

### BASEL MISSION EDUCATION UNDER THE GERMAN COLONIAL REGIME IN CAMEROON 1886-1914.

The Basel Mission (Basler Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft) participated in Cameroon educational development from 1886 to 1966 following an invitation by the German Government for the Mission to replace the British Baptist Missionary Society.<sup>1</sup> The choice of the Mission resulted from political manoeuvres arising from an intense and vested nationalistic chauvinism of German colonialism. German colonial enthusiasts from political and economic circles felt that German protestants were more patriotic and appropriate to implant German culture and influence in the newly acquired colonies.<sup>2</sup> They appealed to the experienced Basel Mission (experiences in India, the Gold Coast and in the Far East) to participate in establishing the German colonial rule in Cameroon.<sup>3</sup> But the Lutheran revivalist spirit of the Basel Mission and their rigid adherence to christian ethics was doomed to inhibit collaboration with the government. Basel Mission determination to protect the indigenous people also led the Mission to disagree with the colonialist spirit of economic exploitation and nationalistic egoism. This chapter seeks, therefore, to examine the nature of tensions and confrontations between the Mission and Government and the outcome for educational developments.

Any meaningful analysis of the Basel Mission contribution to Cameroon education must, however, take into account the origin and objectives of the Mission, their world views, the background of the Missionaries and the relationships with the Government and the people of Cameroon. The relationship between the field Missionaries and the Home board should also be analyzed to show the impact on education.

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<sup>1</sup>The British Baptist Missionary Society was the first to established in Cameroon and introduce western education from 1844. They decided to leave following the annexation of Cameroon by the Germans in 1884.

<sup>2</sup>The works of Friedrich Fabri, Hubbe-Schleiden and Gustav Warneck on the German colonial debate in connection with the German Missions from 1879 stimulated the idea of State-directed German Missions. And when the German Reich became an active colonial power demands for political and cultural contributions on the part of the Missions became more emphatic. See Halldén E. *The Culture Policy of the Basel Mission in the Cameroons, 1886-1905*, Lund, University of Upsala Press., 1968 pp.1-5.

<sup>3</sup>BMA. E-1., Preliminary discussions about Cameroon Mission containing correspondence between the Basel Mission and Baptist Missionary Society as well as with the German Government.



## Background and choice of the Basel Mission:

The nature of collaboration between Missionary societies and Government was hotly debated at the beginning of German colonial rule. The intention of the German Government was to direct German Missionary societies to diffuse German culture (*Kulturarbeit*). It was suspicious of foreign nationals who might be opposed or indifferent to the imperial interest.<sup>4</sup> This appeal was welcomed by some Missions while others resisted it for various reasons.

Basel Mission could not yield to these pressures, firstly because it was not wholly German. The Mission was a product of protestant scolasticism and evangelical pietism that had evolved from the Church Reformation. The ideas of the Mission were also influenced by the liberal rationalism of the age of enlightenment (*Aufklärung*). Yet the Mission was derived from a flourishing co-operation between pietistic groups in the German-speaking cantons of Württemberg and Basel in Switzerland.<sup>5</sup> This relationship in itself was the result of a common religious background which survived in the national and cantonal churches in Basel and Württemberg through the support of pastors, and the pietists serious study of theology that gradually gave them a footing in the universities of Basel and Tübingen.<sup>6</sup> Despite the relations between Basel and Württemberg, the former did not join the rest of the German states when they unified in 1871. Thus Basel Mission remained international with Swiss and German leadership and could not totally yield to German colonial pressures.

It might have been expected that the Basel Mission's spiritual roots in the protestantism of the early 19th century revivalism which was opposed to political involvement and particularly opposed to the scramble for colonies could never let them fall prey to German colonial interests. In addition, the social origin of most Missionaries was in the lower middle class, which inclined them to an indifferent conservatism rather than to political adventures. They also found refuge in the staunch arguments raised by Gustav Warneck (1834-1910), a reputable theologian and teacher of German protestant

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<sup>4</sup>Gensichen, H. W., "Evangelisation and Civilisation: The Germans", in *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, No. 6, 1982, p. 52.

<sup>5</sup>Halldén E., *op. cit*, p.1.

<sup>6</sup>*ibid.*

Missionaries of the period. Warneck was against the national inclination of Missionaries and considered Mission work as an international task to be respected by all including the German Reich. He was against the rendering of service to the German Empire at the expense of the service to God.

While the majority of German protestants consented to Warneck's views, a faction was influenced by Friedrich Fabri (1824-91), another important theologian. According to Fabri, colonies were solutions to German socio-economic and political problems. ~~Thus~~ Missionary work was a junior partner in the national undertakings.<sup>7</sup> The faction in support of collaboration with the Government was mainly headed by those Missionaries who had earlier participated in encouraging German colonialism. They expressed their views during the sixth conference of German Protestant Missions in Bremen (1885). They blamed the shortcoming in their Missionary work to the lack of colonial Government support and considered that where the Mission and the colonial regime were of the same nationality, there was bound to be greater chances of success.

The debate on the nature of Mission collaboration was a major issue discussed at the 1885 Bremen conference of German protestant Missions.<sup>8</sup> The majority felt that the objectives of Missionaries and that of colonialists, though culturally similar, were diametrically opposed in methods of achievement. The only common point of agreement, however, was on the complementarity of Missions and Government in their civilizing objectives. It was argued that without evangelical contributions, the civilizing objective of colonialism was incomplete. The role of Mission schools to cultivate loyal, obedient and conscientious citizens in the colonies was considered ultimately important to colonial development.

At the time of the conference in 1885, no German colonies except German South West Africa and Togo had German Missionary societies.<sup>9</sup> Yet the general opinion was in

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<sup>7</sup>ibid. pp. 388-392.

<sup>8</sup>BMA. E-1., Kamerun 1885, Bremen Conference.

<sup>9</sup>The Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft in German South West Africa since 1842 and the Nord Deutsche Missionsgesellschaft in Togo since 1847. But by April 1886, all the colonies except Cameroon had German Missions.

favour of German Missions in German colonies. Since the Basel Mission was in the Gold Coast from 1828, the general consensus was for them to establish in Cameroon and replace the British Baptist Missionary Society. Further pressure came from Von Soden, the first German Governor of Cameroon and from the management of the Woerman Company in Cameroon.<sup>10</sup> They were against the presence of the British Baptist Missionary Society in Cameroon.

Theodor Oehler, the head of the Basel Mission delegation at the Bremen conference, had received instructions from the Basel Mission Home Board to decline the invitation to operate in Cameroon because of the Mission's financial situation. However, the Board advised him to accept if the majority of the participants favoured the choice of the Basel Mission to replace the British Baptists. In the face of the events that evolved, Oehler accepted the decision of the conference on three conditions.<sup>11</sup> He asked for financial assistance. Then he requested a clear approval from the Baptist Missionary Society and the German colonial administration in Cameroon. Finally, he informed the conference that the Basel Mission's final decision to go to Cameroon would depend on the approval of both German and Swiss authorities within the Mission.

It is important to note the Mission's unwillingness to offend the Baptist Missionary Society by taking over Cameroon Mission field. Undoubtedly, the Baptist Missionary Society was not willing to continue under German rule. The new political situation following German annexation had complicated their plans. The introduction of the German language added to their problems. They were already faced with financial problems and a high death rate of Missionaries. They had also started a new Mission field in the Congo in 1878 which required more people and attention. Thus they were prepared to hand over to a German Mission. Meanwhile, the German colonial Government in Cameroon was unwilling to continue with the Baptists and had sent a representative to the meeting of German protestant Missions conference to declare their preference for the Basel Mission.<sup>12</sup> The German colonialists considered the revolt of the Douala people

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<sup>10</sup>The Governor even sent a personal representative to the conference to persuade the Basel Mission.

<sup>11</sup>BMA.E-1., Kamerun 1885, op. cit.

<sup>12</sup>Madiba E., *Colonisation et Evangelisation en Afrique: L'Heritage scolaire au Cameroun*, Bern, Edition Peter Lang., 1980, p.47.

against the regime in December 1884 as a manipulation of the Baptist Missionary Society. Ultimately, the colonial rivalry between the Germans and Great Britain that preceded the annexation was also a determining factor.

Following these pressures, the Basel Mission sent an exploratory team to Cameroon from January 11th to 28th, 1886 comprising Rottman and Bohner, who were their Missionaries in the Gold Coast, and Rev. Binetsch, representing the North German Missionary Society. The Mission submitted an encouraging report, and in June 1886, the Mission formally applied to the Foreign Office to establish in Cameroon.<sup>13</sup>

Since the imperial Government was very anxious to have them in Cameroon, an immediate approval was granted to all their requests. The Government and the West African German Commercial Syndicate promised them support. It was therefore with this political backing and financial support that the Mission started in Cameroon. The conference had established a good atmosphere for collaboration within which the Mission's ambitions were guaranteed and the political objectives of the imperial regime were secured. Thus, both had to work together. The recognition of the Basel Mission at the conference gave it a more German character. Implicitly, the Basel Mission was given responsibility for Germany's new colonial situation. Since the Mission's headquarters was in Switzerland, the Society established a German branch at Stuttgart in order to acquire a German identity and also to attract German financing.

### **Basel Mission Education in Cameroon:**

The Basel Mission paid £3,000 for land and property taken over from the Baptist Missionary Society which were located only in Douala and Victoria.<sup>14</sup> The first contingent of Missionaries arrived Cameroon on 23rd December 1886 comprising the Rev. Gottlieb Munz and his wife, the Rev. Christian Dilger, the Rev. Johannes Bizer and the Rev. Friederich Becher (who unfortunately died on arrival).<sup>15</sup> Having acquired experience in

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<sup>13</sup>BMA.E-1., Preliminary Discussions about the Cameroon Mission.

<sup>14</sup>Keller W., *The History of the Presbyterian Church in West Cameroon*, Victoria, Pressbook., 1969, p.11.

<sup>15</sup>BMA. E-2., Letters and reports on members of the Mission since arrival in Cameroon. Also see Van Slageren J. *Les origines de l'Eglise Evangelique du Cameroun*, Leiden, E.J. Brill.,1972, pp. 44-45.

working with Africans in the Gold Coast from 1880 to 1883, Rev. Munz was made the first Field Secretary of the Basel Mission in Cameroon. They took over four schools with 368 pupils from the British Baptists. There was an elementary school in Bethel (Douala) and vernacular schools at Victoria, Bakundu-Banga and Mungo. There were problems of staffing and proper supervision. Although the Bible was already translated into Douala by the British Baptist Missionaries, the English language was the dominant means of instruction. The Basel Mission was determined to extend their educational and evangelical activities not only within the coastal towns but into the hinterland.

The expected rapid expansion was inhibited by some initial problems. Firstly, denominational differences, especially in doctrinal and administrative systems, caused disagreements between the Basel Mission and Cameroonian members of the Baptist Church they inherited.<sup>16</sup> Disagreement on child baptism and independent administration of individual churches led to a split as the local Christians led by Pastors Joshua Dibundu and George Nkwe declared themselves members of an autonomous "Native Baptist Church".<sup>17</sup> This schism encouraged the Basel Mission to expand into the hinterland in order to plough new fields and gain their own adherents. But the attempt to expand brought them into another confrontation that lasted throughout their Missionary period in Cameroon. This was a confrontation with the Catholics (who started in 1890) with whom they competed for pupils and Christian followers. The Reichstag's meeting in November 1885 had given the Basel Mission the impression that the Government did not want the Roman Catholic Mission in Cameroon.<sup>18</sup> These initial difficulties combined with resistance by some Cameroonians to condition the nature of the development of Basel Mission schooling.

From the very beginning the Mission laid stress on building up a well organized school system. They opened various types of schools to serve two principal purposes. Firstly, <sup>they needed</sup> to produce educated Christian leaders for the church and the state. Secondly, it

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<sup>16</sup>BMA.E-2.3., Kamerun 1890, Basel Mission's relations with the Baptist Christians.

<sup>17</sup>BMA.E-2.3., Kamerun 1890, Joseph Wilson, a Cameroonian Baptist pastor appealing for a separation of the Baptists from the Basel Mission.

<sup>18</sup>BMA. E-2.2., Kamerun 1889, the Basel Mission's request to divide the territory between the denominations. Rev. Munz and Rev. Bohner wrote extensively on the obstruction of the Catholics.

was hoped that every convert would be able to read the Bible. To achieve these aims the Mission was determined to use local languages. Douala became the medium of instruction in the schools of the Forest Region and Bali (Mungaka) in those of the Grassfields.

With the acquired experiences from Mission fields in India, China and the Gold Coast, the Basel Mission re-organised the schooling system that they inherited. Initial schooling lasted for four years. In the first two years they emphasized reading, writing and arithmetic in the vernacular. In the third year German was introduced. In the fourth year Geography and History were added. In all the classes, Religious Instruction had priority of place. The first school to undergo this reform was Bethel<sup>19</sup> where the first German literate Douala people such as Rudolf Douala Manga Bell who later became king of the Douala people and Ngosso Din were educated.<sup>20</sup>

Despite these reforms, Basel Mission schools had a poor start because of the lack of coordination of the efforts of the individual Missionaries.<sup>21</sup> In addition, the rivalry with other christian denominations and between parishes led them hastily to open many schools when they did not have sufficient teachers to cope with the enrolments.<sup>22</sup> Teacher/Catechists with very basic knowledge of reading and writing were made to teach in some of the schools. The number of schools rose from two in 1888 to 133 in 1898 and the enrolment grew from 238 to 3,278 within the same period.<sup>23</sup> Three types of schools emerged:

#### **Vernacular or village schools (also known as Bush schools):**

These offered three years education under a teacher-catechist to give a general christian education on whom the christian community could eventually be established. Village schools were very popular because they were schools for everybody (*Volksschulen*). In the

<sup>19</sup>BMA.E-2.4., Kamerun 1891, Report on Bethel school.

<sup>20</sup>Kala Lobe., "Douala Manga Bell, Heros de la Resistance Douala" in *Grandes Figures Africaines de la Xxe siecle*, Tournai, 1977.

<sup>21</sup>Each station had to submit an individual report on its school.

<sup>22</sup>BMA.E-2.9., Kamerun 1896, Many reports were made in 1896 on the conflicts between Basel Missionaries in Cameroon.

<sup>23</sup>BMA.E-2.11., Kamerun 1898, Report by Schuler, the inspector of schools.

beginning many villages had no school buildings. Court-yards in chiefs' palaces or church buildings were used for classes. The teachers were at the same time in charge of the local congregations. Here, pupils were taught to recognise the advantages of christian culture as against the evils of their indigenous traditions. But the poor quality of the teachers made the transmission of knowledge ineffective as the pupils became neither complete christians, nor did they maintain their African cultures.

### Boys Schools and Middle Schools :

With the exception of Victoria, all Mission stations had a central school which was either a boys' school (*Knabenschule*) or a middle school ("*Mittelschule*"). The best graduates of the village schools were admitted here through entrance examination. Boys' schools therefore had pupils from several villages and since some of them came from far off distances, a boarding system was established. Initially individual pupils were responsible for their own feeding but eventually, a communal feeding system was established. Food was produced from school farms and gardens.

The first boys' school was opened at Lobetal in 1895.<sup>24</sup> The second was started at Buea in 1896<sup>25</sup> by the Rev. Bizer and the third was at Mangamba in 1898.<sup>26</sup> One was opened at Edea in 1899<sup>27</sup> but by 1901 it was transferred to Lobetal. In 1902,<sup>28</sup> the village schools in Nyasoso and Bombe were also transformed into boys' schools and in 1905, Sakbayeme on the Sanaga was also transformed. The course was for two years and the local language was used, although German was introduced. Most pupils continued their studies to this level in order to acquire the German language which was required for employment, in either the Government service or a private company. After the two years' course, the brightest boys were selected and sent to Middle schools.<sup>29</sup> Following the

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<sup>24</sup>BMA.E-2.8., Kamerun 1895, Letters and reports from Lobetal station; also see Keller W., op. cit. p.21.

<sup>25</sup>BMA.E-2.9., Kamerun 1896, Letters and reports from Buea station.

<sup>26</sup>BMA.E-2.11., Kamerun 1898, Letters and reports from the station at Mangamba.

<sup>27</sup>BMA.E-2.12., Kamerun 1899, Letters and reports from Edea station.

<sup>28</sup>BMA.E-2.15., Kamerun 1902, Letters and reports from Nyasoso station.

<sup>29</sup>BMA.E-2.15., Kamerun 1902, Entrance selection into Bonaberi school.

competition with the Catholics and Baptists for the provision of good quality education, the number of Middle schools multiplied.

Pupils graduating from Mangamba continued their Middle school at Bonaberi while those from Bombe and Nyasoso went to the Middle School at Buea and those from Sakbayeme were sent to Lobetal Middle school. This was the practice until 1912. The Middle schools offered three year courses. Owing to the distances from which the pupils came, Middle Schools were, inevitably, boarding schools. Unlike in the village schools where there was only one European and an African staff, Middle schools had two Europeans and Africans on the staff. Although the local language was still used at this level, the German language was allocated six hours of lessons a week. Other subjects included Arithmetic, History, Geography, literacy in the local language (Douala or Mungaka), Religious instruction, and practical subjects such as basketry, book-keeping, baking and farming.<sup>30</sup>

Middle schools not only prepared people for employment in the lower ranks of the colonial administration and in private business companies; they also served as centres for training teacher-catechists for village stations. Until 1898, they were the highest level of learning in the Basel Mission school system. Weak pupils who could not continue at the end of the first year were usually recruited by their former station managers as teacher-catechists. Middle schools were popular because of competition with the Catholics for the provision of good quality education. They also had the support of the colonial regime because of the desire for the diffusion of the German language.

### German Schools (*Deutsche Schulen*).<sup>31</sup>

The increasing demand for Cameroonians in the lower ranks of the colonial administration and in private business enterprises, led the Basel Mission to operate two schools specifically to prepare pupils for these services. They were known as "German schools" because of the emphasis on the German language. The schools were located at Bonabela and at Bonanjo in Douala. This system of schooling was copied from the Government school at Bonabela when Governor Puttkamer handed it over to the Basel

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<sup>30</sup>BMA.E-2.10., Kamerun 1897, Draft curriculum for use in Mission secondary schools.

<sup>31</sup>BMA.E-2.16., Kamerun 1903, Report by Stutz and Deibol on the German School in Bonanjo.



Mission in 1897.<sup>32</sup> To it was added another school opened at Bonanjo. Both schools were different from all other Basel Mission schools in aims and conceptions.

The curriculum comprised German language studies, the history and geography of Germany and special training towards appointment into the administration or commerce. Some Missionaries questioned the value of such an educational system to the Mission. The argument in its favour was that the Mission intended to spread adherents into Government jobs and commercial companies in order to have supporters in these sectors. But the graduates were often considered too young and insufficiently prepared for those jobs. Other shortcomings of this schooling system included the frequent transfers of the German teachers and the inability of their Cameroonian counterparts to teach the German language efficiently. Besides, there was such a scramble for places in this school system that the applications far outstripped the available places. They also lacked qualified staff and school equipment.

These were the three types of schooling offered by the Basel Mission. The school system was developed and controlled by the Mission with little or no intervention from the Government until 1910. An earlier attempt to seek Mission and Government collaboration by Christaller, the first German Government teacher, was abandoned when he died in 1894. When Governor Puttkamer requested Bohner, the superintendent of Basel Mission (1889-1897), to propose an education system for the territory in 1897, Bohner suggested that Government could either establish a complete education system with inspection service and teacher training or leave education entirely to the Missions.<sup>33</sup>

Bohner, like most Missionaries of his time, fought against what the Europeans considered to be inhibiting factors to African development. He believed that polygamy, bride-price and slavery could be stopped through education. For him laziness was the root cause of all the vices and could only be eliminated when the virtue of work was taught at school. Hard work was considered by Bohner and people of his kind as a true test of christian character. He further proposed Government subventions to Mission schools based

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<sup>32</sup>Governor Puttkamer's anger against the Douala people caused him to hand over the Government school to the Basel Mission.

<sup>33</sup>BMA.E-2.10., Kamerun 1897, Curriculum in Mission Secondary schools.

on results and good functioning. But Government's reaction seem to have been one of indifference until 1907 when the first ever conference on education took place. However, the indifference gave scope to the Missions to operate schools to suit their purposes and convenience. Thus, a confusion of aims and curricula was common in Mission education. The situation was made worse by the administrative system of Basel Mission education.

Until 1897, each Missionary developed his own school system in his parish although the Home Board insisted on central control.<sup>34</sup> At the same time, there were frequent changes of personnel. The curriculum and syllabus for schools were also different in respective stations and even within schools of the same parish. Schuler, the Basel Mission superintendent, argued that a common curriculum could solve the problems. It was seemingly in recognition of his arguments that he was appointed the first Inspector of Basel Mission schools (1897-1903).<sup>35</sup>

Although Schuler had personally abandoned school after his primary education, his training at the Seminary had equipped him to face the challenges of the Mission field. He was an organised and pragmatic Missionary. During his earlier service in Cameroon (1893-1895), he gathered useful experiences from the revolt of Cameroonians against German rule.<sup>36</sup> Poor health and the death of his wife caused him to return to Germany in 1895 after two years service. But his involvement in the translation of the Bible into Douala urged him to come back to Cameroon in 1897, this time as Inspector of schools. From 1901 to 1903 he was the superintendent of the Basel Mission. He extended the Mission field into the hinterland by opening the Bali station in 1903.<sup>37</sup>

Schuler's greatest desire as inspector of schools, was to expand and raise the standard of Basel Mission education. He introduced reforms to stop the practice of Missionary teachers passing on much of the teaching load to their untrained and

<sup>34</sup>BMA.E-2.10., Kamerun 1897, Minutes of the General Conference of Missionaries.

<sup>35</sup>BMA.E-2.10., Kamerun 1897, Basel Mission school curriculum.

<sup>36</sup>He was the station manager at Lobetal when he witnessed the Bakoko revolt against the German regime.

<sup>37</sup>BMA.E-2.16., Kamerun 1903, The new station at Bali. More details can be found in, Schuler, "Im lande der Bali," published in *Evangelische Missions Magazin* of 1903, pp.194-214.

unqualified Cameroonian colleagues.<sup>38</sup> He fought against the practice of giving schooling responsibilities to Missionary clerics and evangelical duties to lay Missionary teachers. He stopped the random opening of schools. Unlike his predecessors who had to wait for approval from the Home Board before enforcing changes, Schuler reformed the school curricula without the approval of the Home Board. His guiding principle was the need and expectations of the pupils and their parents and the prospects of employment. By 1903, he produced a common curriculum for all village schools in which the levels of reading, writing, arithmetic and religious knowledge were improved.<sup>39</sup>

The Basel Mission Home Board had recommended reforms of Middle Schools and Boys' Schools in 1896 to address the issue of general and christian education to satisfy church and Government employment needs. Schuler considered that the two schooling systems could not be reformed together. He proposed a three years programme ranging between 26 and 30 hours of schooling per week in the Middle Schools with greater emphasis on religious instruction and the German language. All graduates of the Middle schools were supposed to acquire a good understanding of the German language, partly because the colonial administration had started to insist on it. To this effect, pupils had to recite Christaller's reader followed by the readers in use in Württemberg schools.<sup>40</sup>

Further to Schuler's reforms, Government control over all educational agencies in Cameroon was introduced from 1910 by an education decree resulting from the 1907 education conference.<sup>41</sup> Government laid emphasis on the teaching of German and insisted that the entire school curriculum be taught in German. A Government curriculum was issued for use in all schools in 1911. Hand-outs were prepared for most subjects in the place of textbooks. This marked the beginning of state control over education in Cameroon.

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<sup>38</sup>BMA.E-2.13., Kamerun 1900, Minutes of a conference on schools.

<sup>39</sup>BMA.E-2.16., Kamerun 1903, Minutes of annual conference of teachers.

<sup>40</sup>BMA.E-2.16., Kamerun 1903, Minutes of Mission teachers annual conference.

<sup>41</sup>BMA.E-2.31., Kamerun 1910, vol.1 Dinkelacker, Inspector of Basel Mission schools and Lutz. Field Board chairman, report on new Government school regulations.

The History syllabus was invariably based on the study of German history. However, hand-outs on pre-colonial and colonial Cameroon and German Governors in Cameroon were added to the history of Germany. For the benefit of the Missions, the teacher-catechist students were taught the history of evangelisation in Cameroon. In Geography, general studies on Cameroon and Africa were followed by a study of the world. Finally, more emphasis was placed on Europe and particularly on Germany. In Arithmetic, pupils began with a study of basic arithmetical operations then followed up with the study of fractions, decimals and the metric system.<sup>42</sup>

These syllabuses were not supported by any textbooks other than the hand-outs that sometimes accompanied them. At the same time there were no competent teachers to teach them as most of the Missionaries were not trained to teach. Missionary recruits were mostly villagers with elementary education, many had found high school education too expensive and also not necessary for recruitment into the Mission field.<sup>43</sup> Yet each Missionary was considered a competent teacher. By 1913, over 50% of Missionaries were involved in education. Thus entering the seminary for Missionary training was usually a great opportunity for them for further education. Few educated people opted for the Mission field at the beginning and those who were willing were usually sent to Asia which was considered culturally more developed than Africa. Thus the depth of knowledge was superficial and the teacher-catechists acquired this limited knowledge to pass on to their pupils.

The lack of training in teaching methods combined with the absence of teaching-learning materials continued to impair the attainment of good standards. The poor output was observed by Dinkelacker, the Inspector of schools in 1911.<sup>44</sup> He remarked that most Missionaries neither knew the subjects they taught nor had any systematic approach to teaching. Any serious intention to teach Africans the ability to learn and understand required a better preparation of those who had to teach.

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<sup>42</sup>ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Lekunze E.F., "Chieftaincy and christianity in Cameroon, 1886-1926; A Historical and Evangelical Strategy of the Basel Mission", Ph.D. Chicago, 1987. p. 59.

<sup>44</sup>BMA.E-2.34., Kamerun 1911 vol.11. Minute of a Teachers' conference.

It is important to note the Mission authorities' concern to provide good and qualified teachers. However, they were often overtaken by circumstances of the period. For instance, as early as 1888, George Munz, the first Mission inspector, considered it necessary to retrain the teachers that the Basel Mission took over from the Baptist Missionary Society. This initiative would have continued with the recruitment of new teachers but the rapid expansion of schools as a result of rivalry with the other denominations halted the exercise. When Schuler became inspector of schools, he too complained about the quality of teachers and associated their weaknesses with the rapid expansion of schools.<sup>45</sup>

It is arguable whether the education of teachers alone could have solved the problem of poor standards. The teacher had the dual responsibility of teaching and evangelising. Besides his full daily school load, he was responsible for morning and evening prayers, Sunday services, Sunday school classes and doctrine classes for catechumens. As an educated and enlightened person he was the main interpreter of the official information in his community. All these activities required time and preparation. Thus he could not adequately prepare his lessons. Both pressure of time and the absence of teaching/learning materials reduced learning to the rote method.

Further attempts to improve the quality of teachers took place at the Middle school. But the heavy demand for teachers hardly allowed the pupils to complete the three years course. Most of them were withdrawn at the end of the first and second years. Those who completed the three years course often gained employment with the administration or private companies where they were better paid.

The creation of a seminary in 1898 was perhaps the best solution.<sup>46</sup> It was first started in Bonaberi and was transferred to Buea in 1899. It provided a three years course, after the Middle school, during which the student acquired skills in writing, a good knowledge of the Bible and Douala literature. The student had also to become competent in reading and writing the German language and to know something of world and church history. The other subjects offered in the Middle schools were also taught. Meanwhile

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<sup>45</sup>BMA.E-2.11., Kamerun 1898, Schuler's report on schools.

<sup>46</sup>BMA.E-2.11., Kamerun, 1898, Report on the Middle School and Seminary at Bonaberi.

more time was allocated for Religious Instruction. Teaching practice in schools took place in the third year.<sup>47</sup>

The seminary, however, failed to offer satisfactory professional training. The predominance of the Middle school programmes gave the institution more of a "general education" character rather than one of professional training. The programme prepared the graduates for other lucrative employment in the colonial administration and in the private business sector. It was not therefore surprising when the Inspector of Basel Mission schools complained in 1906 about teacher training. Besides, the Mission faced the departure of many of their teachers in 1907 when they were obliged to reduce salaries of Middle School graduates from 360 to 240 marks.<sup>48</sup> When the colonial Government assumed more responsibilities over education in 1911, and offered Government teachers better salaries, free medical care, lodging and paid holidays, most of the Mission teachers decided to quit and join the Government service. Low salaries in Mission schools were generally associated with the assumption that each parish lodged and fed its teachers (notwithstanding the fact that they paid school fees). It was also expected that these teachers had their own farms from where they, or their wives produced food.<sup>49</sup>

Another attempt to improve schooling standards was proposed by Dinkelaker, the schools inspector, in 1906.<sup>50</sup> He attributed part of the weakness of the teacher-catechist to school age. Most of the teachers graduated at the age of about 16 years. At such an early age they could not competently take responsibility of a parish and a school and they could not command authority in their own communities. The Inspector then proposed an extension of the Seminary courses to four years but the Home Board rejected his proposal on the grounds of its additional cost.

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<sup>47</sup>ibid.

<sup>48</sup>BMA.E-2.23., Kamerun 1907 vol.1, Dinkelaker's report on Buea Middle School.

<sup>49</sup>Rudin H., *Germans in the Cameroons, 1884-1914: a case study in modern imperialism*, New Haven, 1938. p. 357.

<sup>50</sup>BMA.E-2.21., Kamerun 1906, Inspector's report on schools.

In 1910, Dinkelacker suggested a further reorganisation of the Basel Mission schooling system in Cameroon.<sup>51</sup> He proposed a new curriculum for teacher training which could enhance the acquisition of teaching skills and deeper knowledge of the subjects they had to teach. He proposed a categorisation of students in the Middle Schools into three classes: matured and serious pupils who could continue into the Seminary; those who were too young and had to stay longer at school; and those who could not handle responsibilities. He suggested the transformation of village schools into Middle schools.

Dinkelacker's suggested reform aimed not only at improving the training of teachers but perhaps more importantly, at training capable Cameroonians for future responsibilities in the local church. The envisaged future leaders included pastors, catechists and teachers. It became necessary, therefore, to diversify the programme of training at the seminary. He suggested the study of the Bible, dogma and ethics, symbolism, homily and catechism, pastoral theology and the history of the church, teaching methods, arithmetic, music and the German language.<sup>52</sup> Such a programme could have produced well educated teachers but the Home Board found that these reforms were too vast and expensive. They only approved the up-grading of one village school to a Middle school. They also asked for special classes for evangelists to be added to the Middle schools in Bonaberi and Lobetal.

A final effort to achieve reforms was mounted at a general conference of the field Missionaries in Douala from 22nd to 28th April 1912.<sup>53</sup> This was the last and also the most important attempt by the field Missionaries to overhaul the Basel Mission education system under the German colonial regime. Dinkelacker reminded participants of the important role of Mission education in liberating the pupils from all pagan practices and in their conduct before God.<sup>54</sup> He considered that the pattern of Basel Mission education then in practice was unsuitable for such purposes. For him success invariably required spiritually inspired people. According to him, such people were lacking in the ranks of

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<sup>51</sup>BMA E-2.31., Kamerun 1910 vol.1. Joint report by Dinkelacker and Lutz on new school regulations.

<sup>52</sup>ibid.

<sup>53</sup>BMA.E-2.35., Kamerun 1912 vol.1, Report of general conference at Douala, April 1912.

<sup>54</sup>ibid.

the Missionaries. He suggested a change of attitude on the part of the Missionaries so as to improve their relations with their Cameroonian counterparts for the sake of the very God they were striving to serve. Implicit in his argument was the inevitable search for better methods of teaching because for him, schooling did not have to end up only in converting pagans to Christians but, more importantly, at implanting and spreading a Christian culture through the training of competent and conscientious local assistants. To Dinkelaker these were the bases on which the Basel Mission educational system had to be established.

The conference supported the addition of evangelist classes to Mangamba and Buea schools and emphasized a practical approach. They further requested the upgrading of Sakbayeme and Nyasoso schools to middle school levels, the transformation of the German schools into middle schools and the establishment of many more of such schools. But the reaction of the Home Board again failed to give full satisfaction.<sup>55</sup> The Board rejected the request by the conference to maintain the Seminary. They asked instead for its replacement by two schools for evangelists offering two years courses. The evangelist school did not satisfy the wishes of the Field Missionaries. Their insistence on a Seminary was to enable the trainees to stay longer and gain maturity and deeper understanding of the subjects. They also believed that a full seminary training of four years was more beneficial than the two years evangelists training that the Home Board proposed. The Home Board also proposed just one Missionary to each of the two evangelists schools. But the field Missionaries considered the activities too demanding on such a Missionary. He had to do the administration, to teach, to attend to students' spiritual and academic needs as well as conduct his parish duties.

It is therefore evident that Basel Mission education during the German rule very often suffered from disagreement between the Home Board and the field Missionaries based on financial considerations. The Field Missionaries lived the experiences and understood the problems in Cameroon. Their suggestions were based on the realities in Cameroon. At that rate, the Mission's initial desire to educate local elites to establish the church in Cameroon remained a wish. However, by the end of the German rule, the

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<sup>55</sup>ibid, Response from the Home Board.



educational system had taken a specific pattern and the Mission's concern was to improve on its quality.

### **Basel Mission Education and the German regime:**

It has already been indicated in this chapter that the German colonial regime encouraged the establishment of the Basel Mission in Cameroon. In chapter two, it was also mentioned that the regime assisted the Mission to start its educational activities. At the beginning the chancellor gave 3,000 marks which was followed subsequently by other financial assistance in the form of grants in aid.<sup>56</sup> At the beginning Governor Soden hoped that Missionaries could be used as judges in courts to hear cases between the indigenous people and also between Europeans and Africans. He expected Missionaries to maintain peace between tribes and also keep vital statistics and other records.<sup>57</sup>

These indications of favours and supports may lead to the misconception that as a German Mission, the Basel Mission had a glorious period under the regime. On the contrary, one of the main forces that inhibited a rapid and smooth development of Basel Mission education in Cameroon was the colonial Government. The Government failed to respect the conditions that the Mission requested on agreeing to replace the Baptist Missionary Society. The Mission's relation with the Government was characterized by disagreements on Government economic and social policies especially during the reign of Governor Von Puttkamer (1895-1907).<sup>58</sup>

Annexation of land for economic exploitation especially by private firms had caused revolts from many Cameroonians especially along the fertile crescent of the Victoria region. In June and October 1896, the chancellor of the Reich issued orders relating to the expropriation of land which became Crown lands.<sup>59</sup> He ruled that land belonging neither to private persons nor community could be considered Crown Land. But

<sup>56</sup>BMA.E-1., Preliminary discussions about the Cameroon Mission. Also see Rudin *op. cit.*, p. 304.

<sup>57</sup>Rudin, *op. cit.* p. 364.

<sup>58</sup>BMA.E-2.11., Kamerun 1898, Petition by Inspector Oehler of the Basel Mission to the Colonial Office against expropriation of land. More details about this governor are developed in chapter two and chapter nine.

<sup>59</sup>Over 10,000 hectares of land was expropriated by 1899 in Victoria. See Keller W., *op. cit.*, p.34.

the regime in Cameroon was bent on supporting German plantation owners and economic interests. This perpetrated the expropriation of land occupied by Cameroonians. The Basel Mission was determined to protect the Cameroonians. They protested against the land policy and became identified as defenders of the Cameroonian communities.<sup>60</sup>

The Basel Mission's failure to mitigate the expropriation of the land for plantation enterprise also affected their relations with Christian Cameroonians who relied on their intervention. This loss of confidence affected their educational and evangelical work. The Mission appealed to the Colonial Office in Berlin to protect the interest of, particularly, the Bakweri people in their land.<sup>61</sup> This led to the establishment of the first Land Commission appointed in January 1902 which consisted of a trader, a plantation owner, two Missionaries (one from the Basel Mission and one Catholic) and a Government official. Rev. Schuler, the Basel Mission Inspector in Cameroon, represented his Mission.<sup>62</sup>

The Mission was not satisfied with the resolution of the Land Commission which created a reserved area for the displaced people. The plantation companies had insisted that the Commission should leave the discretion to respective plantations to determine the amount of land to be reserved. The Mission appealed to the Chancellor of the Reich in 1903 and a special deputy was sent to assess the needs of the Cameroonians.<sup>63</sup> More land was secured for the people in Buea. The efforts of the Mission restored Bakweri people's confidence and many of their villages asked for Basel Mission schools. But the people of Douala were dissatisfied with the Basel Mission. They felt that the Mission did not do enough to defend their interests before the Government. This affected their school enrolments and evangelical activities.

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<sup>60</sup>Many of the Missionary reports of this period demonstrate their determination to protect Cameroonians. Rudin H., op. cit. pp.304-306. has also stated that besides land expropriation, the Mission protected the people.

<sup>61</sup>ibid. It was after many failed attempts to convince the local regime that appeals were made straight to the *kolonialabteilung*, later *kolonialamt*.

<sup>62</sup>BMA.E-2.15., Kamerun, 1902, Government policy on the distribution of Crown Land.

<sup>63</sup>BMA.E-2.16., Kamerun 1903, Lutz and the Land Commission in respect to Buea area.

Similarly, the Basel Mission defended Cameroonians against the scandals of forced labour. The Government had among other methods, adopted the practice of using soldiers to recruit Cameroonians from the hinterland to work in the plantations. The living conditions in the labour camps and the hot climate of the coastal areas affected most of the highlanders. Many died and many never returned to their villages. This affected church attendance and school enrolments. The Cameroonians affected by this policy, who could not distinguish between colonial administrators, Missionaries, planters and traders, tended to hate all Europeans, in consequence. The colonial regime had also induced chiefs to take part in forcible recruitment.<sup>64</sup> This became a lucrative band wagon upon which others climbed. Thus their relations with the Missionaries were strained. It was for this reason that the Basel Mission decided to fight against the labour recruitment policy so as to save some of their out-stations from closing.<sup>65</sup> Besides, it also fell within the conditions they had made in their formal application to the Government in 1886, to protect the indigenous people from European exploitation.

Another area of confrontation between the Basel Mission and the colonial regime that pre-occupied the Mission was the language problem. As earlier indicated, the Mission stated in their formal application that their intention was to use Cameroon languages for educational and evangelical purposes. Although the Government gave approval, many controversies followed in the course of time. The regime's disagreement with the Douala and after 1908, against their former favourites, the Bali, whose languages were used caused the Government to stop the use of these languages even in the vernacular schools. The new school policy of April 1910 stated

... in native schools no other language is to be tolerated as a medium of instruction and as a subject except German and the actual dialect which is spoken by the people....<sup>66</sup>

To obey this policy and operate vernacular schools required turning the many Cameroonian languages into writing. The Mission could neither afford the money nor the personnel to cope with such a regulation. As such, the Home Board of the Basel Mission

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<sup>64</sup>Chilver E.M., in Guifford, P., & Louis, W.R., (eds)., *Britain and Germany in Africa - Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule*, New Haven, Yale University Press., 1967.

<sup>65</sup>BMA.E-2.19., Kamerun 1905, labour in the German plantations.

<sup>66</sup>BMA 1910., Education Ordinance.

appealed to the Colonial Office in 1913 to reconsider the language policy but until the war started in 1914, no solution had been found. This affected the enthusiasm of the Missionary workers and their output in schools.

The Basel Mission was also seriously against the widespread sale of liquor and arms. In 1887, they issued an order forbidding the importation of liquor into the region they had bought from the British Baptists in Victoria.<sup>67</sup> They also erected a plant in 1903 for the manufacture of soda water and other non-alcoholic drinks to fight against liquor among Cameroonians.<sup>68</sup> To reduce the excessive exploitation of Cameroonians by German companies, the Basel Mission Trading Company (*Basler Missionshandlungsgesellschaft*) started importing goods from Europe and selling at affordable prices to the people. By 1900, the company began exporting Cameroon goods thereby encouraging Cameroonians to produce the goods themselves, and to become independent producers. This protective measure was followed by the opening of a Mission bank in Douala where they paid four per cent interest on Cameroonian deposit accounts. These attempts aroused the jealousy of German firms who refused to offer further assistance to the Mission.

#### **Basel Mission Education and Cameroonians responses:**

The Basel Mission's original intentions were to evangelise and to educate Cameroonians. These objectives were warmly welcomed in Cameroon particularly because of the educational dimension. The rapid expansion of the Mission beyond the coastal areas was because of the people's demand for the establishment of schools. For example, Fon Galega 1 of Bali applied through Zintgraff, the first European to arrive in the savanna belt of Cameroon in 1889, for a Mission educational establishment so that his people might gain European education.<sup>69</sup> In 1897, the Fon appealed to the Colonial authorities for the Basel Mission to establish in Bali and after his death in 1900, his successor, Fonyonga II made several reminders for the Mission to establish in Bali. From 1903, when the

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<sup>67</sup>BMA.E-2.11., Kamerun 1898, Góhring's petition against the sale of liquor.

<sup>68</sup>Rudin H., op. cit. p.369.

<sup>69</sup>BMA.E-2., Kamerun, 1903, New station in Bali, also see, Van Slagaren J., op. cit. p.92.

Mission arrived in Bali, it became clear that the desire for western knowledge was the underlying reason for their invitation.<sup>70</sup>

The Fon demonstrated his desire for education through the hospitality he offered the Missionaries and the rapidity with which he had the school built and gathered pupils to start learning. The Fon himself enrolled as a pupil and supported the Mission financially. The Rev. Ernst, the head Missionary, formerly of Lobetal, became his personal adviser - *Nkom*.<sup>71</sup> The Fon's intention to attract education can be distinguished from a desire to have access to Christian religion. Fon Galega had dismissed any discussions on religion with Zintgraff -by stating that religion was a matter that could neither be seen nor heard and that he welcomed all religious denominations because "good things must be taken from all sides".<sup>72</sup>

The Fon supervised regular attendance at the school<sup>73</sup> and requested all sub-chiefs within his kingdom to send children to the school. By 1905, the school had three classes with 181 pupils and by 1906, the Fon declared Sunday a day of rest throughout the kingdom. In 1907, a teacher-catechists school was opened for the region which began with 130 students recruited from the graduates of the school. To further illustrate the people's desire for education, in March 1907 the Fon and his people selected 283 pupils for the school but the Mission could only find room for 160.<sup>74</sup> It is interesting to note that of all the graduates leaving the school, only 150 had been baptised before the end of German rule.<sup>75</sup> Evidently, the widespread interest was aroused in western education and not in Christian religion because of its preaching against such customs as polygamy, sacrifices and ancestral veneration. Cameroonian interest in the Mission were therefore, for pragmatic reasons and utilitarian purposes. The welcome given the Missionaries and their

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<sup>70</sup> *ibid*.

<sup>71</sup>BMA.E-16., Kamerun 1903, Letters and reports from Bali station. Also see Van Slagaren J., *op. cit* p.95 and Keller W., *op. cit*. p.28. He offered 200 marks for the purchase of slates, free land and assisted in building.

<sup>72</sup>Autenrieth., *Chez less Balis*, Geneva, 1905, p.10., cited in Lekunze E.F., *op. cit*.

<sup>73</sup>An interview with Maxwell Fohung, one of the pioneer scholars, Bali, 1980.

<sup>74</sup>Keller W. *op. cit*. p.28.

<sup>75</sup>Lekunze E.F., *op. cit*. p. 118.

school system was because of their desire to prepare themselves for the new system of Government and particularly opportunities in the emerging economy.

However, the interest was often wider than that. Chilver told the researcher of interviews she conducted with elderly men in 1960.<sup>76</sup> The men said they had hoped to "capture" the knowledge of the Germans and make it their own. Many said they later regretted that they had been unwilling to submit to the continuous discipline of schooling.

As in Bali, the Basel Mission was warmly welcomed by Njoya of the Bamoun kingdom. He quickly became so friendly with Göhring, leader of the Mission, that he renounced Islam with the intention of becoming a christian. The mosque in the palace was replaced by a church. The first school was started in 1906 with 60 boys and 51 girls. Njoya and his people were disappointed when the Missionaries could not recruit more than this number.<sup>77</sup> Of the first 52 baptised people, 28 were wives and daughters of the king.<sup>78</sup> But the Missionaries refused him and his nobles baptism despite their regular attendance at catechumen classes and church services. The Missionaries insistence on their becoming monogamous before being baptised, marked a halt both to Christianity and Missionary education in Bamoun, even though the Mission school had an enrolment of 600 pupils and five Missionaries in 1914.

Njoya and his people realized that the Christian culture was opposed to their own but that European education was the best means to orientate people to the new pattern of life. The king therefore opened his own school and revived his own personal scripts which he had earlier invented. He transformed the writing from idiographic to syllabic symbols - of a set of codes, and also invented a secret language. This school became popular and retained the Bamoun palace culture.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup>Chilver E. M., has done extensive studies in Cameroon.

<sup>77</sup>BMA.E-2.22., Kamerun 1906, vol.11, Letters and reports from Bamum station.

<sup>78</sup>Lekunze E.F., op. cit.p. 129.

<sup>79</sup>BMA.E.2.32., Kamerun 1910 vol.11, Report written by Göhring on Chief Njoya's school in Bamum. No attempt was made by the Mission to help improve on Njoya's system of education which apparently was original.

These cross-cultural confrontations were noticeable almost everywhere the Mission established in Cameroon. Lekunze has argued that the cultural confrontation underlay the slow development of education and christianity in Cameroon.<sup>80</sup> This opinion echoes Hallden's remark that Basel Mission failures resulted from non-acquaintance and dismissal of the people's culture.<sup>81</sup> As member of the Conference of Protestant Missionary Society which since 1866 had stressed cultural relativism and opposed the Hanseatic traders *laissez-faire* attitude while condemning the national chauvinism of most colonial enthusiasts, the Mission was expected to display a more humane and cultural tolerance towards Cameroonians.<sup>82</sup> This cultural weakness of the Mission may be attributed to their pietistic background which led them to treat strange cultures in the spirit of religious rigour and confuse christian education with Europeanisation. It may also be attributed to a feeling of cultural superiority and national pride on the part of the Missionaries. But as Gustave Warneck observed, German Missionary efforts, unlike the English, had more capacity and will to accommodate themselves to foreign peculiarities.<sup>83</sup>

Ingrained in the spirit of pietism, which implied a rigorous distinction of those who were saved by maintaining a higher standard of ethical behaviour from those who were not, the Missionaries expected their converts to abandon their cultures and practise the ethics brought by christian education. This narrow perception of Africans seriously affected Basel Mission education. The Missionaries never contested African intellectual competence but felt that African culture inhibited their development. Thus the conversion process demanded a rejection of traditional customs and values. In other words, a polygamous christian convert had to reject all but one wife. The Missionaries never cared about what happened to the rejected women. Rudin states that the Basel Mission sometimes allowed their christians to keep all their wives<sup>84</sup> but there is no indication in the literature consulted so far to confirm that the Mission agreed to baptise any polygamists. Pastor Vohringer applied in 1911 for permission to baptise a polygamist and

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<sup>80</sup>Lekunze, op. cit. p.155.

<sup>81</sup>Hallden E., op. cit. p.14.

<sup>82</sup>Lekunze, op. cit. p.155.

<sup>83</sup>Warneck G., *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions*, Edinburgh, 1901, p.104, cited in Lekunze, op. cit. p.156.

<sup>84</sup>Rudin H., op. cit. p.300.

had the support of Dinkelacker, the Mission school inspector and Lutz the Field chairman, but no positive response was received.<sup>85</sup> Lekunze considers the anti-polygamist attitude of the Mission to explain the slow and limited expansion of their Mission in Cameroon.<sup>86</sup>

The christian ethical rigidity and the inculcation of disrespect for certain aspects of indigenous cultures, created tension between the Mission educated people and the traditional authorities. The rest of the society regarded the educated people as subversive of the traditional rules and regulations. The tension was heightened by the abrupt departure of the Missionaries when the war started and seriously affected schooling during the non-Missionary period.<sup>87</sup>

Another significant problem faced by the Basel Mission was from the other religious orders. The most formidable one was Islam. The entire northern region of Cameroon was left to the Muslims and all attempts by the Mission to open schools there was refused by the Government. However, the regime made efforts to check further expansion of Islam to the south by persuading the Basel Mission to establish in Bali and Bamoun.<sup>88</sup>

Meanwhile the Basel Mission enjoyed good relations with the American Presbyterian Mission. When the German language was declared compulsory in schools, the American Presbyterians contemplated handing over their schools to the Basel Mission since they could not easily afford German speaking teachers.<sup>89</sup> On the other hand, the Basel Mission's attitude towards the Catholics was negative because they considered that they (the Basel Mission) were brought to Cameroon to keep the Catholics away from German colonies. They even protested against the establishment of the Catholics in 1890,

<sup>85</sup>BMA.E-2.33., Kamerun 1911 vol.1, Vohringer's application to baptise a polygamist.

<sup>86</sup>Lekunze E.F., op. cit., His argument is particularly centred on Njoya's failure to become a christian because of his polygamous status.

<sup>87</sup>In the next chapter, the problems faced by the Cameroon educated christians in the absence of the Missionaries is further discussed. See also Ndi A, "Mill Hill Missionaries and the state in Southern Cameroons, 1922-1962" Ph.D. London, 1983.

<sup>88</sup>BMA.E-2.15., Kamerun 1902, Preparation for Mission work in Bali.

<sup>89</sup>BMA.E-2.15., Kamerun 1902, Report on possible takeover of the American Presbyterian Mission Stations.



expressing fears of Catholic intrusion into their work. When they could not stop the Catholics, they suggested Catholic confinement to specific areas. Thus relations between the two Missions were characterised by jealousy and rivalry that affected educational development through the hasty opening of schools.

Despite the problems faced by the Basel Mission, it is evident that their attempts to open schools in villages and main stations helped to establish colonial rule and introduce literacy. By touring and organising the schools, the Missionaries peacefully gained the support of Cameroonians for the regime. The school acted as a nucleus radiating into the neighbourhood especially during week-end evangelisations, christian feast days and on important occasions declared by the Government. With 19 main stations located at Bagam, Bali, Bana, Banjoun, Bangwa, Besongabang, Bombe, Bonaberi, Bonaku, Buea, Edea, Foumban (Bamoun), Lobetal, Mangamba, Ndogbea, Ndongue, Nyasoso, Sakbayeme and Victoria, there were 384 elementary schools with 22,818 pupils under 409 teachers by 1913. They also had 16 Middle schools with 1,748 pupils. At Akwadorf in Douala they had two vocational schools offering courses in carpentry, cabinet making and mechanical engineering.<sup>90</sup> They also had a teacher training institution which by 1914 had 53 students, and their two German schools in Douala supplied the administration and other employers with educated people competent in the colonial language. Thus in spite of all the difficulties that the Basel Mission encountered, they established an educational system within a christian culture that even the First World War could not dismantle. Its success and acceptance was so deeply rooted that the Mission's activities could survive unaided during the non-Missionary period (1914-1925).

To conclude, it is clear from this chapter that Basel Mission education under the Germans suffered from tensions, contradictions and paradoxes generated by political, economic and social conflict of interests between the Germans and Cameroonians. There were also disagreements of various degrees sometimes within individual parishes and sometimes between different parishes but more often between the Home Board and the Field Missionaries. These tensions produced such inconsistencies that very significantly affected the development of education. The contradictions combined with the catalogue of disagreements that the Mission had with the Government and other Missions to

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<sup>90</sup>Shu S.N., op. cit

attenuate Basel Mission educational achievements. The education pattern developed by the Mission and the liberty that they enjoyed under the German regime influenced their activities under subsequent regimes and has had a significant impact on those who took over the management of the schools as will be noticed in the next chapter.

However, it is evident that the Mission education policy had a significant achievement. The Basel Mission evolved an educational policy that was accepted as the official German colonial education policy until the eve of the First World War. The Mission's policy on the promotion of local languages was a big achievement which, if supported by the Government, could have enhanced better educational attainment and fostered creative thinking because the pupils and their African teachers would have been working and thinking in a language that reflect their culture and environment. Additionally, the Basel Mission education policies enabled Cameroonians to be protected from the excesses of socio-economic and political exploitations. Thus the Mission may be exonerated from the usual charge of Government-Mission conspiracy in exploitation and commended for educational achievements. Since the expulsion of the German colonial regime from Cameroon, following their defeat at the First World War, obstructed the activities of the Basel Mission, the next chapter assesses the impact on Mission education and the implications for current reforms.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### BASEL MISSION EDUCATION UNDER BRITISH AND POST-COLONIAL REGIMES (1916-1966).

The First World War brought an end to German patronage of the Basel Mission in Cameroon and ushered in an era of uncertainties characterized by the apprehensions of the new regimes. The initial expulsion of all German nationals including Missionaries<sup>1</sup> and the delay in bringing back the Missions greatly hampered the work they had started under the Germans. The total departure of the German colonialists and the hostilities exhibited by the British and especially the French significantly affected their educational contributions. This chapter examines the impact of the various political, social and economic problems of the period on Basel Mission education and assesses their contribution to educational development at the end of their work in 1966. It also discusses the impact of the relationships of the Mission with the ruling regime, Cameroonians and other Missionary societies and the impact of the intr-relationships on education.

The decade following the beginning of the war, which has been described variously by Shu as the "dark days"<sup>2</sup> and by Ndi as the "priestless years"<sup>3</sup>, may be portrayed as a period of cataclysm for Mission work in Cameroon. The total expulsion of all German Missionaries when Germany was defeated in Cameroon and the non-replacement of these Missionaries particularly in the British occupied zone, almost crippled the efforts they had made over three decades. The Basel Mission's total exclusion and replacement by a French Protestant Mission (Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris) in the French zone greatly diminished the influence of the Mission in Cameroon because many of their stations and schools were taken over by the French Protestant Mission. These limitations added to the economic crisis of the 1930s and the effects of the Second World War served to dampen their spirits towards school investment. Furthermore, the earlier re-establishment of the Catholic Mission (Mill Hill Fathers) in

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<sup>1</sup>120 Basel Missionaries were expelled. See Van Slageren J., *Les origines de l'Eglise Évangélique du Cameroun; Missions Européennes et christianisme autochtone*, Leiden, E.J. Brill., 1972, p.134.

<sup>2</sup>Shu, S.N., *Landmarks in Cameroon Education*, Limbe, NOOREMAC Press., 1985.

<sup>3</sup>Ndi, A., "Mill Hill Missionaries and the state in Southern Cameroons, 1922-1962 ", Ph.D. London, 1983, p.35.

1922 and their British connection which allegedly favoured the Catholics in terms of government support, had an inevitable negative impact on the Basel Mission.

### **Basel Mission Education during the First World War and the non-Missionary period (1914-1925)**

The First World War started in Cameroon between Germany and the Allied Powers on 3rd August 1914 and Germany resisted until 19th February 1916 when they capitulated.<sup>4</sup> During the war, civil life was replaced by disorder as Cameroonians were divided in allegiance behind the two camps. In the confusion, looting, vandalism and all sorts of atrocities were rife. Education stopped and school buildings became military barracks.<sup>5</sup> Over 21,000 German supporters comprising Christians, church workers (including teachers) took refuge on the island of Fernando Po.<sup>6</sup> Their departure combined with the exile of the Missionaries to handicap Basel Mission's education during the decade after 1914.

Following an early conquest of the southern part of Cameroon, a joint Anglo-French administration under General Dobell attempted through a condominium to reinstate normal life from December 1914.<sup>7</sup> But fundamental differences in British and French colonial attitudes inhibited any chances of success. In March 1916, when the Germans were totally defeated, the two powers divided Cameroon for their respective rules.<sup>8</sup> The French immediately took measures to replace the German Missionaries in their zone. In January 1920, the Basel Mission Home Board reluctantly handed over their assets to the French Protestant Mission.<sup>9</sup> Meanwhile, the British entered a lengthy process of

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<sup>4</sup>PRO. CO 750/11. Report by General Dobell. Also see NAB. Ba. 1916/1.

<sup>5</sup>PRO. CO 750/11., Many Missionaries wrote complaining from Fernando Po about the suffering of Cameroonian internees.

<sup>6</sup>Van- Slageren J., op.cit., pp.130-131.

<sup>7</sup>PRO.CO 750/11., Report by General Dobell.

<sup>8</sup>Temporary arrangements which were largely confirmed by the Milner-Simon London agreement of 1919.

<sup>9</sup>Van Slageren J. op.cit., p.137.

negotiation with British Missions to replace German Missionaries in their own zone.<sup>10</sup> It was not until 1922 that the first Missionary society, the Catholic Mill Hill Fathers, entered the zone to replace the Pallotine Fathers.<sup>11</sup>

Pressures from the Protestant International Missionary Organisations and the active role of Swiss Missionaries who claimed that the Basel Mission was Swiss and not German, finally allowed the Mission to resume activities in Cameroon in 1925.<sup>12</sup> The role of Rev. Allegret, head of the French Protestant Mission, in discouraging the British Protestant Missions from replacing the Basel Mission with the hope of extending the influence of the Paris Evangelical Mission in the French sphere to the British zone must be mentioned.<sup>13</sup>

The absence of the Missionaries, however, did not stop all Mission schooling in the British zone. By 1916 when the war in Cameroon ceased, some enthusiastic Cameroonians, as mentioned in chapter four, made attempts to revive education.<sup>14</sup> The number and statistics of the pupils are unknown because there was no central organisation. The quality of education was inevitably perfunctory since many of the good teachers fled with the Missionaries. The curricula were determined by the teachers and taught either in the local language or in German. Most of the teachers were unqualified. Pastor Johannes Litumbe Ekeze who became the first Cameroonian pastor in the British territory, supervised the Mission activities alongside the French protestant Missionaries from the French zone.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>IMC/CBMS Box 276., Correspondence between the Colonial Office, British Missionary societies, International Council of Protestant Missions and the German Missions from 1916-1926. Considerable efforts by the local British administrators in Cameroon (Ruxton and Hunt) through letters to Lagos and to the Colonial Office are further evidence of the lengthy negotiation.

<sup>11</sup>NAB. Ba. 1922., Lugard's intervention here was significant. Also see Ndi A., *op. cit.*, London, 1983.

<sup>12</sup>IMC/CBMS Box 276., *op. cit.*, J.H.Oldham was the anchor man who coordinated the replacements.

<sup>13</sup>*ibid*, Allegret to Oldham on conditions in British Cameroon and the possibility of Basel Mission return.

<sup>14</sup>NAB.Ba 1921., Annual Report by Resident Ruxton.

<sup>15</sup>BMA.E-4.4, 1914-1924, Letters from Cameroon. Pastor Ekeze was ordained by the last Basel Missionary, Pastor Reinhold Rohde in 1917. But the main supervision of the schools was undertaken by the French protestants from Douala.

The poor functioning of the schools was partly as a result of financial difficulties. The schools depended on voluntary contributions, while a few had the support of the French Protestant Mission.<sup>16</sup> Attendance depended very much on the social and financial abilities of the pupils. During planting seasons, most of the schools were closed. The only organised school was the Basel Mission school at Tiko which was supervised directly by the French protestant Mission in Douala.<sup>17</sup>

Another problem affecting schooling was the inability of the teachers to collaborate with local traditional authorities. Education and evangelisation in most communities were considered subversive to traditional order and therefore became anathema to the authorities.<sup>18</sup> Whereas Missionaries had recognised the necessity to cloak the subversive tendencies of christian education, the Cameroonian teachers openly opposed local traditions.

As indicated in chapter four, another form of socio-political effect of the Basel Mission schooling system during the non-Missionary period was *ethiopianism*. This phenomenon was associated with African nationalism expressed through the medium of the church. It was derived from *Psalms* 68:31 which states that "Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands to God". Whereas the phenomena in South and East Africa, whence the name came, may be attributed to racial discrimination arising out of the colour-bar policy of the white settler in those places where racial policies led to "separatist" churches that became anti-government movements, that of Cameroon was derived from increasing signs of superstitions. A form of syncretic doctrine and practices of mixed christianity and superstition was emerging within the followers of the Basel Mission. Traditional rulers dreaded this form of the christian religion because of its eventual competition with local forms of belief. This led the colonial administrators to

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<sup>16</sup>BMA.E-4.7., Correspondence with ex-Basel Missionaries in the service of the Paris Evangelical Mission in Cameroon.

<sup>17</sup>NAB.Ba.1924., Report to the League of Nations.

<sup>18</sup>Ndi A. op. cit., for an indepth analysis of the relationships between the Mission workers and traditional authorities.

draw the conclusion that the problems could eventually develop into seditious *ethiopianism* as in South Africa and Nyassaland.<sup>19</sup>

The particular case in Cameroon referred to the Makaya episode. Makaya, whose actual names were Monica Abandeng, was a catechumen of the Basel Mission in Mamfe who claimed to have seen a vision where God promised her the supply of enough food to feed the people. She then requested all her followers to take an oath to resist all authorities and not to work.<sup>20</sup> This was a potential social problem which if disseminated through the school system, could eventually be politically disastrous. The problem urged the Government to bring back the Basel Mission.

Britain had ruled successfully in India and the Gold Coast in close collaboration with the Basel Mission and the failure to find a suitable British Missionary society to replace the Mission in Cameroon did not pose any major threat to the Government. British protestant Missions hesitated to supplant the Basel Mission. They all belonged to the International Conference of Mission Societies whose solidarity was very high during this period. The Lake Mohonk conference of the International Council of Missions on 1st October 1921 and the inter-denominational Missionary Conference of 23rd November 1921 helped the Basel Mission to return because on each occasion the Basel Mission representative lost no opportunity to present the urgent need for their presence in Cameroon. These contacts eventually made the problem a concern of the entire International Council of Protestant Missions. This motivated J. H. Oldham, the General Secretary of the Council, to take responsibility with the British Government to allow the Basel Mission to return to Cameroon.<sup>21</sup> Meanwhile, Government concern over the reports of the colonial administrators and visiting Missions such as the Phelps-Stokes Commission also contributed to the return of the Basel Mission in 1925.

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<sup>19</sup>NAB. Ba. 1921., Annual Report by Ruxton. It refers to the uprising in Malawi in 1917 led by John Chelembwe.

<sup>20</sup>NAB.Ba 1921-1923., Reports from Mamfe. See also Goodridge R., "Society and Economy in British Cameroon 1916-61", Ph.D. Ibadan 1988.

<sup>21</sup>IMC/CBMS Box 276., Correspondence between J.H.Oldham and Oettli of the Basel Mission Home Board.

### **Basel Mission Education during the Mandate :**

The second part of the Basel Mission's work in Cameroon was therefore unlike the first because of the differences in language and culture of the ruling regime. Attempts to solve the language problem through the use of the local languages they had earlier developed did not take long to encounter difficulties. These differences combined with the enormous difficulties encountered by the Mission in regaining admission into Cameroon to affect the early part of their educational efforts.<sup>22</sup> Besides, the structural organisation started under the Germans had also been disrupted during the non-Missionary period. However, some of the stations survived through the zeal and devotion of some Cameroonian evangelists and christians as well as the supervision of Pastors Ekeze and Modi Din of the Paris Evangelical Mission in Douala (formerly of the Basel Mission during the German period). Their occasional evangelical visits inspired the christians to maintain their faith and to continue with their school efforts. Thus at the return of the Missionaries six main stations with schools survived in Bali, Besongabang, Bombe, Buea, Nyasoso and Victoria.<sup>23</sup>

These schools were unadaptable to British colonial school regulations. The teachers who were German trained, taught in either Douala or Bali languages, and could not use British teaching materials. Apart from the Basel Mission school at Tiko, all others were unorganised.<sup>24</sup> In 1926 when the new Nigerian Ordinance on education was adopted in the territory, these teachers were invariably disadvantaged. Their German education was no longer useful.

The Education code, as discussed in chapter four, apparently encouraged close collaboration between the government and Missions but imposed restraints on the Mission when compared with their situation under the Germans. The Basel Mission authorities no longer enjoyed the liberty they had under the Germans. The government required the Missions either to conform with the new regulations and receive government

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<sup>22</sup>IMC/CBMS. Box 276., problems of the Basel Mission adjusting to the British system. Also see BMA.E-5.7., Correspondence concerning school work, 1927-1933.

<sup>23</sup>NAB.Ba. 1926., Annual Report.

<sup>24</sup>NAB. Ba. 1925., report to the League of Nations.



support or to maintain their German system without British assistance.<sup>25</sup> There was no option here since parents' desire was for their children to have such education as could gain them employment under the new regime. The anti-christian reactions during the non-Missionary period increased dislike for Mission education which most parents considered to be a disguise for the propagation of christianity. Since the Mission rarely posted qualified teachers to villages that were unenthusiastic about the christian religion, most Cameroonians concluded that Mission education only aimed at evangelising.<sup>26</sup>

Further problems of the Basel Mission education at this early stage of the British rule may be attributed to disagreements between the Field Missionaries and the Home Board. The Board met in 1927 to re-organize schools in Cameroon. But as in the first period, their emphasis was on the evangelical work of schools.<sup>27</sup> To achieve this aim, the Mission resolved to operate fewer schools to which Missionaries could be posted to ensure an effective implantation of christianity through high quality education. It was believed that good education would attract many pupils. Thus the policy of "*Drang nach Schulbildung*" was adopted to guide future educational development in Cameroon. This policy ignored the importance the Mission had earlier given to mass evangelisation through schooling. It also forgot the impact of inter-denominational competition on the school system. Thus the field practice was going to be different from the plans of the Home Board. The priority remained on winning large numbers of converts although with varied methods.

It was difficult to stop the "*Hedge Schools*" or "*Bush Schools*" opened during the absence of the Missionaries. Nor could the Mission refuse applications for teachers from christians who had opened schools on behalf of the Mission in their villages. Such refusals would tantamount to anti-evangelical practice. Yet they lacked qualified teachers for these schools. The majority were untrained and some had barely the village school education of four years. Thus they could barely give initiation to the 3Rs with some emphasis on

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<sup>25</sup>NAB.Ba. 1927., Correspondence between Government and teachers.

<sup>26</sup>NAB.Ba.1927., Report to the League of Nations.p. 58.

<sup>27</sup>BMA.E-5.7., Correspondence between Field Missionaries and the Home board, (1927-1933).

religious instruction. Some of the schools also had very few pupils. The operation of schools with few pupils on religious basis contradicted the education code.

The administration asked for the closure of these schools which were more than 300 in number by 1927.<sup>28</sup> After several appeals to the colonial headquarters in Lagos,<sup>29</sup> the Mission was allowed to operate them as religious schools on condition that neither English nor Arithmetic had to be taught. Only reading, writing and religious instruction were taught in the vernacular to enable pupils read the Bible. However, the regulation also gave room for Government recognition of religious schools with more than 10 registered pupils.<sup>30</sup> Based on this regulation, H.Wildi, the supervisor of Basel Mission schools, applied for the registration of all the schools as a mark of the Mission's collaboration with the government. They became known as "Infant Vernacular Schools". Thus neither the Home Board's objective of a few schools nor the British colonial regime's desire for all schools to conform with the ordinance was respected. The reality was determined by events in the Mission field.

Schools that conformed with the regulations, gained government financial assistance and became known as "assisted schools".<sup>31</sup> These were elementary schools using English as a medium of instruction. Pupils admitted to these schools were graduates of the infant vernacular schools. Assisted schools provided a four year course leading to a standard four certificate. English, arithmetic, writing and religious knowledge were the principal subjects on the curriculum. Those who continued after this level could do two more years to obtain standard six certificate in a full primary school.

For a school to be recognised and to obtain government assistance, it was imperative to have a qualified teacher. The idea of certificated or qualified teachers posed a major problem to the Mission. For a solution, they first asked for the assistance of the

<sup>28</sup>NAB.Ba,1927., Report to the League of Nations. p.56.

<sup>29</sup>IMC/CBMS,Box 276., Correspondence between S.M. Grier, Director of Education and J.H. Oldham of IMC. in respect of a Memorandum on difficulties regarding "Bush schools" in Cameroon by W. Oettli of the Basel Mission, 1927-1929.

<sup>30</sup>Regulation 54 of the Ordinance.

<sup>31</sup>These were also known as grant schools.

Government to select some of the former German trained teachers to undergo in-service training by Government officials during which they could acquire English Language and improve their teaching skills.<sup>32</sup> They also imported trained teachers from Nigeria and the Gold Coast but these teachers were similarly handicapped because they could not teach religious instruction and hygiene which were taught in local languages.<sup>33</sup>

For Missionary teachers, Oettli, the Basel Mission Inspector negotiated with British authorities in 1927 that they should be awarded "Honorary Certificates" on passing the Junior Cambridge Examination.<sup>34</sup> Finally, the Government also allowed the Mission to send pupil teachers for training at the Government Teachers Training College, initially known as "Normal School". The first Basel Mission student-teacher was admitted in 1931; by 1937 the number had increased to seven and by 1944 there were 13 in the school.<sup>35</sup> These measures enabled the Mission to open three new primary schools in Bali, Besongabang and Buea by 1929 headed by the following Missionaries Hummel, Heiser and Grest respectively and another one started at Nyasoso in 1931 under Ulmann.<sup>36</sup>

Another aspect of government regulations that affected the Basel Mission education concerned the structure of classes. All post-infant classes had to study History, Geography, Nature Study and Hygiene in English but Mission infant schools had no introduction to English language studies. At first, they solved the problem by extending their infant classes to the third year during which English language was introduced. But this lengthened the duration of schooling and increased the expenditure on the Mission's budget. Besides, it was against government regulation of two years at that level. It was therefore abandoned and English was introduced in the second year.

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<sup>32</sup>IMC/CBMS Box 276., Meeting on the registration of village school teachers, 1927.

<sup>33</sup>NAB.Ba.1927., Annual report; the inspector of schools complained about foreign teachers in Mamfe who could neither express themselves in Douala nor in the local language.

<sup>34</sup>IMC/CBMS Box 276., 1927.

<sup>35</sup>Reports to the League of Nations for the respective years.

<sup>36</sup>BMA.E-5.7., Correspondence concerning school work, 1927-1933.

Since government grants depended on the quality of teachers and the application of government regulations and because the world economic depression also affected the Mission, all efforts were made to abide by the rules. Thus from 1931, the Mission was able to receive the first grant of £50.<sup>37</sup> By 1932, six of their schools qualified for grants. The increased number can also be explained by the change in the policy for award of grants. In 1932, the Board of Education decided to shift the condition from achievements of individual schools to block grants to each category of schools under each Mission. All Elementary schools (Standard I - IV) received £100 and all primary or Middle Schools (Standard V-VI) received £150, while boarding schools for girls received £200.<sup>38</sup> Government subvention was therefore a motivation for closer collaboration between Missions and the administration and gave opportunity for government to control Mission schools. At the same time, Mission competition for government subvention led to greater respect of government regulations and an improvement of the quality of education.

The world economic depression had a significant impact on education in general and particularly on Mission education. The fall in prices of Cameroon products and closing down of business companies reduced employment possibilities. The fall in income also reduced Government finances and cut down on employment. This discouraged the parents who were already unable to pay for schooling because of the drop in their income. School enrolment then dropped significantly from 1931 to 1934 as shown on table 7.1.

Economic improvement by 1934 led many people to return to school and enrolment started rising in Mission schools. From four primary schools in 1934, the Mission had seven others by 1937 and by 1939 they had 15. At the end of the war in 1945, there were 68.<sup>39</sup> The demand for schools was so high that at least one primary school was opened each year.<sup>40</sup> Some were created before the buildings were even

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<sup>37</sup>NAB. Ba. 1931/1.

<sup>38</sup>Report to the League of Nations, 1932.

<sup>39</sup>BMA.E-5., Basel Mission in Cameroon, 1925-1950.

<sup>40</sup>From 1934 it was yearly: Basel Mission Dikume (1934), Basel Mission School Bafut (1935), Basel Mission School Batibo (1936), Basel Mission School Medig (1937), Basel Mission School Kumbo (1937) and Basel Mission School Tombel (1937).

constructed. Meanwhile some shared the same building with the church. Most villages built their schools and asked the Mission for teachers.<sup>41</sup>

Table 7.1. Enrolments during the mandate period.

Year	Boys	Girls	Total	Assisted Schools	Unassisted Schools
1925	2,920	287	3,207	1	113
1926	3,458	477	3,935	1	129
1927			7,155	1	305
1928	5,518	549	6,067	none	255
1929	5,120	563	5,683	none	193
1930	4,847	510	5,357	none	160
1931	-	-	4,470	1	210
1932	3,324	413	3,737	6	147
1933	3,438	383	3,821	6	116
1934	5,776	461	6,237	6	118
1935	4,380	632	5,012	6	130
1936	4,937	632	5,569	6	151
1937	5,672	762	6,434	6	195
1938	6,092	575	6,667	6	155
1939	-	-	6,079	7	-
1940	-	-	6,292	-	-
1941	-	-	6,545	-	-
1942	-	-	7,766	-	-
1943	-	-	9,057	-	-
1944	-	-	11,075	-	-
1945	-	-	11,968	-	-

Sources : Annual reports.

The Mission also developed an attitude of self-help in the local congregations. They contributed to the construction of schools either through financing or by supplying materials. In 1935, the Victoria congregation contributed £263 for a school building and

<sup>41</sup> Apparently, this high demand motivated Raflaub, who became very involved in the management of Basel Mission schooling to research on "Gebt uns Lehrer" (Give us teachers). See Raflaub F., "Gebt uns Lehrer, Gegenwartsaufgabe der Basler Mission in Kamerun", Basel, 1948.

the Bafut parish helped to finance the building of their school.<sup>42</sup> However, Government started giving grants for school buildings. For example, in 1938, out of £1,315 subvention, the sum of £415 was allocated for building construction.<sup>43</sup>

Until 1937, two types of schools were distinguishable; parish schools (village schools) which were not recognized by government and remained the total responsibly of the local christians, and the assisted schools that were supported by government but still depended on the Mission. But the pressure on schooling brought greater burden on the Mission and from 1937 three types of schools emerged. These included the parish schools, another set of schools that depended on the Mission and the local communities; and the assisted schools that received Government assistance. Whereas this last category of schools was inspected and supervised by the Education Department and the Mission Education Board, the second one depended on the Home Board for directives while the first depended on the parish community. Such a diversity of school systems rendered the achievement of a coherent Mission educational policy unattainable.

In 1937, the Field Missionaries proposed that the finances be centralized so that government grants, school fees, revenues from work rendered by pupils, money and donations from the Home Board and other sources might all be placed and managed from a central treasury. This proposal was approved in 1938 by the Home Board.<sup>44</sup> As regards leadership, it was considered that educational responsibilities had become too heavy and important to be merged with evangelical work in one person. Hence there was a separation of responsibilities. Fritz Raaflaub who was then serving his second tour in Cameroon was made the first Inspector of Basel Mission Education.

Raaflaub was enthusiastic and determined to improve Basel Mission education.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup>Keller W., *op.cit.*, p.66.

<sup>43</sup>NAB. Ba., Annual report, 1938, p.79.

<sup>44</sup>BMA.E-5.1-2., Annual Reports from field Missionaries.

<sup>45</sup>Fritz Raaflaub (Missionary in Cameroon from 1932 to 1951) quickly established himself as an outstanding and dedicated Missionary interested in advancing education in Cameroon. On the departure of the German Missionaries during and after the war, he coordinated all the educational and evangelical activities of the Mission as chairman of the Field Missionaries. In the 1950s, he prepared capable Cameroonians on whom he built an indigenous church that gained independence of the Home Mission in

His first ambition was to eliminate competition between the different parishes and improve the building structures of the schools. He also wanted to establish an atmosphere of equality among all parish schools. He paid initial attention to schools regularly visited by government administrators. Then he decided on a uniform curriculum for all schools and the recommendation of standard textbooks for all schools. Finally, he embarked on the training and retraining of Basel Mission teachers so as to improve on their qualities.<sup>46</sup> These reforms gave a clearer perspective to Basel Mission education and established hope for a better future.

Unfortunately, the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 impaired the implementation of Raaflaub's reforms.<sup>47</sup> The expulsion of all German nationals of the Mission in 1940 left the Basel Mission with only six out of 70 Missionaries including their families.<sup>48</sup> Raflaub was given additional responsibility by being ordained as a pastor to fill the gap created by departing German pastors. He now had to handle both educational and evangelical responsibilities. However, unlike the experiences of the previous war, the Government showed more concern for Mission education. Government promise of allocating money from the Colonial Welfare and Development Fund for school grants gave hope to Mission education. By 1942 the new procedure for offering Government grants eliminated the earlier distinction between assisted and non-assisted schools. Grants therefore improved the finances of the Missions and became invariably an important source of Mission revenue.

The Teachers were motivated through salary increase to serve the Mission. Increased support from the Native Authority and local communities further helped in the building of classrooms and even in the payment of teachers. Thus, the mandate period ended with a structured school system and encouraging enrolments as indicated in table 7.1.

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1957. Retiring to Basel headquarters, Raflaub became the Secretary of the African department until 1976. He personally represented the Home Board at the handing over ceremony of schools in 1966.

<sup>46</sup>ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Sd/1940/2 No.186/39/Vol.II., Future of German and Italian Missionaries in Cameroons Province, 1940.

<sup>48</sup>BMA.E-5.6, report on the field Mission.

### **Basel Mission Education from Trusteeship to Post-Colonial Period:**

The post-war educational objective in Cameroon aimed at mass education at the primary level and the development of post primary education.<sup>49</sup> The Basel Mission did not hesitate to take advantage of government disposition in school provisions to pursue evangelical and educational objectives. At the same time the Field Missionaries increasingly gained more autonomy from the Home Board and were confident of exploiting the situation to expand their education.

These encouraging factors led the Mission to improve the provision of primary education and to embark on the development of teacher training, secondary and vocational education in order to have an educated christian population on whom the church could be built. Events affecting the Mission in the Second World War, reminded them of their earlier expulsion and delayed return after the first war and the impact on their work. These reminiscences urged them to prepare competent indigenous Cameroonians to eventually replace the Missionaries in case of a recurrence.

As earlier indicated, the demand for more schools in all villages where the Mission extended its evangelical campaign remained high. At the primary school level, the Mission had emerged from the war with a total of 68 primary schools, an enrolment of 5,155 pupils and a total of 200 teachers.<sup>50</sup> With the exception of the girls school in Victoria, all the schools had African headmasters by 1940. For evangelical reasons, primary education remained the targeted sector, The demand for primary schools as against vernacular schools was increasing as most people looked forward to fit themselves in the modern economy. Subsequently, the government took measures to stop vernacular education.<sup>51</sup> However, the Mission continued to offer vernacular education until independence as indicated on table 7.2.

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<sup>49</sup>Report to the United Nations Trusteeship Council, 1949, p.143. Also see, Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria in Sessional Paper No.20 of 1947.

<sup>50</sup>BMA.E-5-2., Annual reports by the field Missionaries.

<sup>51</sup>PCA. S. Lec/9089 of 22nd June 1955 by Supervisor of Basel Mission Schools.



Table 7.2 : Decline of Vernacular Schools (enrolments):

Year	Vernacular	Primary Schools	Total enrolment.
1940	5,030	1,262	6,292
1945	6,813	5,155	11,968
1947	4,522	5,841	10,363
1951	1,169	8,223	9,392
1954	652	10,426	11,078
1956	568	14,032	14,600
1959	191	19,880	20,071

Sources : 1) Annual Reports. 2) Reports to the United Nations Trusteeship Council

The post-war government education policies had effects on Basel Mission education and helped to explain the pattern of its development. In 1949, the first post-war education policy was promulgated.<sup>52</sup> Government grants to primary schools depended on the qualifications of teachers.<sup>53</sup> Since most of the Basel Mission schools were poorly staffed, the policy disfavoured them. This restriction added to the exclusion of German Missionaries during the post-war period to pose problems of staffing which affected school enrolments as indicated on table 7.3

Table 7.3; Enrolments in Basel Mission Schools from 1945 to 1966.

Year	Enrolment
1945	11.968
1946	11.291
1947	10.563
1948	9.705
1949	10.400
1950	9.694
1951	9.592
1952	8.920
1953	9.736
1954	11.331
1955	12.785

Year	Enrolment
1956	14.600
1957	15.978
1958	17.163
1959	20.071
1960	25.042
1961	-
1962	30.870
1963	34.641
1964	-
1965	40.845
1966	49.392

Sources: Annual reports and annual statistics of education in West Cameroon.

<sup>52</sup>Report to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations., the 1949 Education ordinance on p.143.

<sup>53</sup>1948/1949 Supplement to the laws of Nigeria., Lagos, 1952, p.216.

These problems became more noticeable because the Mission focused more attention on the development of post primary education from 1947. However, from 1954, when political and socio-economic situations improved, primary school enrolment regained momentum as indicated on table 7.3.

The development of primary education depended upon the improvement of teachers' qualities. Sir Sydney Philipson's Report of 1948 on education in Nigeria which recommended the criteria for administering grants to be based on teachers' qualifications, gave incentive to the Missions to develop their own teacher training institutions.<sup>54</sup> Earlier attempts to train teachers at Nyasoso to serve both as teachers and catechists, as earlier practised under the Germans, were not welcomed by most Cameroonians.<sup>55</sup> Thus in 1944, a one year Preliminary Teacher Training Centre was started in Nyasoso. In 1947, the institution was converted into a two years Elementary Teachers Training Centre and transferred to Bali while leaving the Nyasoso Centre for catechists training. In 1949, it was transferred to Batibo. The teachers training centre was started by Rev. J. Grest and on the staff was Solomon Tandeng Muna who became an eminent political figure.<sup>56</sup>

The Batibo Teacher Training College was a great achievement of the post-war period. It rapidly supplied the Mission with the required trained teachers whose presence attracted government recognition and financial grants. By 1952 the Mission could already boast of 194 certificated teachers whose salaries were paid by the government. Since the policy also stipulated that experienced uncertificated teachers could be partly paid by the state, the Mission had in all 229 teachers receiving government financial assistant by 1952.<sup>57</sup> By 1959 the College had one Preliminary Teacher's class and two classes of the Elementary section.<sup>58</sup> Since local languages were not taught in the regular schools there

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<sup>54</sup>ibid., The report formed part of the background material for the elaboration of the ordinance.

<sup>55</sup>BMA.E-5.3., Annual reports by Field Missionaries, 1925-1948.

<sup>56</sup>After further teacher training at the University of London Institute of Education in 1950, Muna joined politics in 1951 and enjoyed cabinet rank in Nigeria and Cameroon, becoming Vice President of the Republic and President of the National Assembly until 1988 when he retired.

<sup>57</sup>PCA. S. vii/5/3613, Gopfert H., Supervisor of Basel Mission schools, Annual Report, 16th April, 1953.

<sup>58</sup>PCA., Principals Annual Report for 1959 submitted to the Board of Governors.

was emphasis on good English during the training and in 1960, Oral English became part of the curriculum and was examined at the end of the course.<sup>59</sup> Thus the Mission had appreciable support from the Government to train their teachers. However, a significant problem was still pending in the training of female teachers.

The Basel Mission, like all those providing education in Cameroon before the Second World War had paid less attention to female education. Girls' education was first raised as an important problem in 1929. Missionary ladies were posted to open girls schools in Victoria, Buea and Bali.<sup>60</sup> But these ladies taught the girls only domestic science and religious instruction. Only Victoria had a school building for girls by 1931. Until 1951 the Victoria school served both as a boarding and a day school but still emphasising domestic science education. From that year it became a full day school. Meanwhile from 1941 it had been reorganised to function as a full primary school with English as a language of instruction. The headmistress was always a European until 1951 when Catherine Lyonga took over. The first African male staff was Abram Ngole who eventually became the first Cameroonian church leader, "Moderator" of the church.<sup>61</sup>

Another attempt to start a girls' school in Mbengwi by 1934 was not successful so it was transferred to Bafut in 1937 where it became a boarding school.<sup>62</sup> But events during the Second World War led to its closure since the Missionary ladies were expelled. Government and Mission concern for girls' education after the war resulted in the re-opening of the Bafut school in 1947 by Lina Weber who became popularly known as "Na Weber".<sup>63</sup> She eventually became the architect of girls' education for the Basel Mission. She was assisted from the beginning by Mfobe Fusi with whom she developed the school into a full primary school by 1949, attracting Basel Mission girls from many parts of the country.

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<sup>59</sup>PCA., Principals Annual Report for 1960 submitted to the Board of Governors on 4th November 1960.

<sup>60</sup>Keller W., *op.cit.*, pp.66-67.

<sup>61</sup>PCA.1952., Annual report by the Supervisor of schools.

<sup>62</sup>BMA.E-5.2., Annual report by Field Missionaries, 1934.

<sup>63</sup>"Na" stands for mother, used by the girls and eventually by the Mission to show respect for her contribution to educational development.

To these two schools in Victoria and Bafut were added girls in many co-educational Basel Mission schools in the country. The increasing number of primary school girls created the problem of supplying female teachers. The Mission trained their girls in Nigeria but most parents were reluctant to release their daughters to go that far. When the Roman Catholic Mission opened the first Girls' Teacher Training College in Kumba in 1949,<sup>64</sup> it started absorbing some of the Basel Mission girls. From 1954 when Cameroon revolted against Nigerian political control and gained autonomy, Cameroon students became hesitant to attend Nigerian schools. Thus the only training centre open to Basel Mission school girls was the Catholic institution in Kumba. But inter-denominational rivalry and fear of conversion of the Basel Mission girls into Catholicism, combined with the growing demand for many more female teachers eligible for grants from the Government, to urge the Mission to establish its own college.

It is probable that the Mission could have established a girls' training college by 1956 if they had not believed that the Government was going to support them to start one together with a joint girls' secondary school in collaboration with the Baptist Mission.<sup>65</sup> On the contrary, support was given but to the Catholics to open the first girls' secondary school in 1956.<sup>66</sup> The Basel Mission continued to appeal to government and in 1960, they were given a grant for an Elementary Teachers' Training Centre (later known as Women's Teacher Training College - W.T.T.C. Mankon) for girls in Bamenda. This school was first started in January 1961 at a temporary site in the Girls' School at Bafut by Na Weber who became the first principal.<sup>67</sup> This school helped in supplying the required trained female teachers that the Mission needed at independence.

Teacher training by the Mission was limited to elementary level while higher elementary training was pursued at the Government Teachers' Training College in Kumba.

<sup>64</sup>Report to the United Nations Trusteeship Council for 1949. Also see B.F.Booth, " A Comparative Study of Mission and Government Involvement in Educational Development in West Cameroon, 1922-1969", Ph.D, UCLA.1973.

<sup>65</sup>PCA. Supervisor of Basel Mission Schools, circular to school managers and principals on 22nd June 1955 indicating the excitement at Government's promise of financial support from Colonial Development and Welfare Fund.

<sup>66</sup>Report to the United Nations Trusteeship Council for 1956 indicate the opening of the Queen of Holy Rosary Secondary School, Okoyong.

<sup>67</sup>PCA.1961, Principal's report on admission.

Owing to the large number of applications from all Missions into the Government college, it became necessary for Government to authorise and support the establishment of Mission teachers' colleges to train higher elementary teachers. This grade of teachers was the highest for primary schools and were allowed to teach in the junior classes of the secondary schools. Secondary school leavers were also admitted at this level to develop careers in teaching.<sup>68</sup> The Basel Mission started offering Grade Two courses in January 1962 and in 1963 they graduated the first batch of 30 students.<sup>69</sup> Financial constraints led to the beginning of co-educational training at the Higher Elementary College in Batibo as graduates of W.T.T.C. continued their training there. Thus, at the end of Basel Mission work in 1966, they had set up a well structured training scheme for teachers to cope with the increasing demand for primary education.

The establishment of more primary education suggested the need for post primary education. Both the Government and the Mission were pressurized by the population for the establishment of secondary education. In 1940 the Basel Mission Inspector proposed to convert the Middle School in Nyasoso into a Junior Secondary School or "Full Middle School" so as to avoid Basel Mission school boys from enrolling in the Roman Catholic secondary school opened at Sasse in 1939.<sup>70</sup> Between 1938 and 1940, the Missionaries urged Basel Mission children to register in Nyasoso but the children and their parents were in search for regular secondary education which was only available in Sasse.

The fear of losing their adherence forced the Basel Mission to take the expensive alternative measure of enrolling their pupils in Hope Wadel Secondary School Calabar in Nigeria.<sup>71</sup> This measure proved financially too expensive for the Mission. After several exchanges of letters between the Missionaries in Cameroon and the Home Board at Basel,

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<sup>68</sup>Graduates of this course were designated Grade Two teachers while those of the Elementary course were Grade three teachers. Further certificate course from abroad, or a further training in Agriculture at Bambui or studies in Manual Arts at Ombe enabled teachers to be promoted to Grade One after inspection by competent government authorities.

<sup>69</sup>PCA. Principals report submitted to the Board of Governors on 16th May 1964.

<sup>70</sup>BMA.E-5.2., 1940, Report of the Basel Mission Board meeting,

<sup>71</sup>BMA.E-5.2., 1944, Report of the Inspector of schools to the Home Board.

an agreement on the establishment of a Basel Mission Secondary School was reached in Basel in 1947. Further discussions were followed by the conduct of a common entrance examination in Cameroon in 1948 when 53 candidates were selected. The school started officially in February 1949 with D.H. O'Neill as the first principal, assisted by J.P. Schneider and J.A. Ozimba as member of staff.<sup>72</sup>

The school curriculum comprised Cambridge overseas schools examination subjects, but in 1952 Latin was dropped from the curriculum and replaced by French. The foresightedness of the college authorities to introduce French at the early stage of the school prepared the students for privileged national positions when the French and the British sectors united. General science was also started in Form One. In 1957, the new principal, Dr. P. Rudin, revised the curriculum. General science was split into Chemistry and Biology and later on Physics was added. The curriculum included: English Language, English Literature, French, Mathematics, Geography, History, Biology, Chemistry, Physics and Religious Knowledge. In the lower classes Art and Music were also taught. Extracurricular activities included games, athletics, swimming and gardening. Club activities included scouting, boxing, debate, British constitution, current events, nature study, etiquette, drama, photography and stamp collection.<sup>73</sup>

The first batch graduated in December 1953. On 13 March 1954, the first Cambridge schools certificate examination result was released and 19 out of 20 candidates passed. This good result was maintained in subsequent years. From 1955 the Government requested the Basel Mission to jointly run a double stream in the school with the Cameroon Baptist Convention.<sup>74</sup> By June 1956 both Missions agreed on the joint sponsorship of the college and it changed its name from Basel Mission College to Cameroon's Union College, and in June 1957 the first two Baptist staff members joined the college.<sup>75</sup> In October final arrangements changed the name to Cameroon Protestant College Bali (C.P.C.) and the double stream started in January 1958. The college

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<sup>72</sup>PCA. Arrey-Mbi S.B. "A Look at the College Log Book", 1974 unpublished. This document provides a chronology of events in the development of the college up to 1974.

<sup>73</sup>Information gathered from the principal's office.

<sup>74</sup>PCA. S. Lec/9089 of 22nd June, 1955 by Basel Mission Supervisor of schools.

<sup>75</sup>PCA.1957., Annual Report by the principal.

enrolment increased again and by 1960 there were 233 students. In that year, only 64 candidates were selected out of 800 applicants.<sup>76</sup> Thus pressure for expansion led to the opening of new secondary schools in Kumba (1962)<sup>77</sup> and Besongabang (1964). These subsequent ones were co-educational.

Apart from general education, the Basel Mission offered other forms of education. Vocational education was given to both boys and girls but the apparent unwillingness of Cameroonians and lack of motivation from the government discouraged the Mission from expanding the scale of provision. For example, a tanning of hides and skin scheme started in Nyasoso in the 1930s failed to receive assistance from government. Meanwhile, the Mission's bookshop and printing press in Victoria provided invaluable support to education in terms of providing learning and teaching materials. This was originally only in Victoria during the German colonial rule. On their return, the Mission revived it in 1929 and in 1950 it was extended to Kumba, then to Bamenda (1952), Tiko (1954) and Mamfe (1957).<sup>78</sup> Throughout the colonial period, the Basel Mission was the main supplier of all reading and writing materials in the country. The printing press also served in the production of most educational materials.

These were the main areas in which the Basel Mission contributed to Cameroon educational development. In 1966 they handed over 260 primary schools with an enrolment of 49,392 pupils, which was assessed to be 32.9 per cent of primary school enrolment in West Cameroon.<sup>79</sup> In these schools were 1,414 primary school teachers. They also handed over three secondary schools which by 1965 had a total enrolment of 601 students and a staff of 30. There were also three teacher training institutions with 469 students under 27 teachers by 1965.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>76</sup>Information collected from the principal's office. Also see West Cameroon Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, *Education Department Statistics*, Buea, 1963.

<sup>77</sup>PCA.1964., Information from the Presbyterian Education Secretary's Office.

<sup>78</sup>Keller W., op.cit., p.123.

<sup>79</sup>Atogho T.T., *Basel Mission Schools become Presbyterian Schools*. Victoria, 1966, pp.32-33. Also see Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, *Education Department Statistics*, Buea, 1967.

<sup>80</sup>ibid.

The Mission also established Youth Centres in the main towns that offered opportunities to school drop-outs to continue their education through evening classes and correspondence courses.<sup>81</sup> These centres also offered facilities for the development of talents in drama, music and sports. Handicraft training centres aimed at developing local crafts from wood, fibre and metal were established at Bafut and Bali while two Rural Training Centres (R.T.C) were opened at Kumba and Mfonta where carpentry, bricklaying, plumbing, farming and animal husbandry were taught.

The Mission handed over to the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon a well structured school administration system. At the head of the hierarchy was the Education Secretary who was assisted by two Supervisors of schools for the Forest and the Grassland zones.<sup>82</sup> There were also 14 managers of schools. Each school had a head teacher. Above this administrative structure was the Education Committee and its Standing Committee which met regularly to ensure the proper management of schools. A careful Africanisation policy developed after the Second World War, had prepared Cameroonians to handle these responsibilities. The financial assistance of the Government and private corporations such as the Cameroon Development Corporation helped them to train Cameroonians to whom the Mission handed over the evangelical activities in 1957 by starting an indigenous Presbyterian Church in Cameroon with Rev. Ngolle as the first Moderator (chairman). By 1966 when the schools were being handed over, most of the managerial posts were already filled by Cameroonians. Thus, the Basel Mission left a clear structure that enabled the new church (Presbyterian Church in Cameroon) to continue in contributing to Cameroon education. But could the pattern of education be accountable for post-colonial education problems?

It is worthy to note that Basel Mission education operated under different regimes under difficult circumstances. Despite its distinct educational system, the Mission was constrained by Government finances to conform with the policies of the ruling governments. Government funds, especially during the post-war period, sponsored Mission education. The grants paid for the construction of Mission school buildings, salaries of

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<sup>81</sup>PCA., The first was started by Rev. Miaz , youth pastor.

<sup>82</sup>Presbyterian Church Education Secretary's speech at the handing over ceremony in Atogho D.T., op. cit.



teachers, purchase of some school equipment, and scholarships to students and workers of the Mission at home and abroad. Such assistance deserved Mission's collaboration in return.

Nationalism during the post-war period and African aspiration for development on the western pattern also contributed enormously in determining the pattern of education. The school curricula were British and although a few books were on Africa, generally written by non Africans. The end of vernacular schools affected the teaching of Cameroon culture through the local languages. Swiss Missionaries involved with education took British examinations to qualify to teach in Cameroon. All post-primary school teachers and school administrators received training in Britain or in other British colonies such as Nigeria or the Gold Coast. Thus, British culture dominated. The Basel Mission Home Board reduced its involvement in educational policies especially from 1957 and sought rather to offer support to the new church. The Missionaries made all efforts to understand the British education system.<sup>83</sup> Thus the British education pattern prevailed and imbued those who went through it with British culture which remains their term of reference. The present problems can therefore be partly explained by the pattern that emerged.

The Mission's relations with other Missions might also account for some of the post colonial education problems. There were only three christian Missions (Catholic Mission, Baptist Mission and Basel Mission). The accelerated rate of school expansion in the post-war and post-independence periods inevitably placed these Missions into competition. Each Missionary society had the primary objective of gaining more Cameroonian adherents through education. Thus, they ultimately had to compete through schools in order to attract the population. They fought also to obtain Government grants in order to extend into new areas and to sustain what they had achieved. These rivalries had an impact on education. Villages and districts were associated with specific Missions (denominations). As such, seeds of disagreement were planted.

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<sup>83</sup>BMA., S.vii/5/3613, 1953. In the Annual Report, the Education Secretary sought to explain the role of a Head-teacher to the Home Board because that designation did not exist in Swiss educational system.

Perhaps more disturbing was the impact of these differences on political inclinations. It was, and still is, the belief that the presence of an influential political figure belonging to a particular denomination invariably favours members of that denomination. For instance, the Education Secretary for the Basel Mission counted on the influence of S.T.Muna and Ndamukong for government support to open a secondary school in Mbengwi in 1964.<sup>84</sup> It was also thought that the opening of the Catholic secondary schools in Mankon, Njinikom and Banzo were associated with the influence of J.N. Foncha, A.N. Jua and Lafon (cabinet ministers), who were formerly teachers with the Catholic Mission.<sup>85</sup> Politicians also found that their constituencies and the Christians within these constituencies could support them if they influenced the establishment of schools. This notion is still upheld. Hence religious differences have had significant implications for education.

Thus while the present problems might have been influenced by the inherited Mission system, it is evident that post-colonial socio-political and economic circumstances have also been significantly influential. But above all arguments, it is worthy to note that British colonial education was predominantly provided by Missionary societies which are today replaced by the local churches. Meanwhile the French colonial education was centrally controlled by the government. The differences between these two legacies account significantly for the difficulties involved in harmonising both systems.

The Basel Mission's inherent feeling that the government did not treat them as fairly as others seemingly affected the Mission. They felt that the Catholic Mill Hill Mission was considered more because of the British connection, and the Baptists because of their Anglo-American background. Thus, their German connection affected their relations with government. This attitude was inherited by the new Cameroonian church leaders. For example they questioned why the Basel Mission with 30,870 pupils in primary schools by 1962 could not be allowed to have more than one secondary school while sharing another one with the Baptists. This argument was raised because the

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<sup>84</sup>PCA. 141/505/6407 of 19th June 1964.

<sup>85</sup>PCA. 505/4039 of September 1963.

Catholics with 38,443 pupils had three secondary schools and the Baptists with 12,111 pupils had the same number of secondary schools as the Basel Mission.<sup>86</sup>

However, a more plausible explanation for government's attitude might be discerned from the Basel Mission education policy. Whereas the other Missions established and maintained fewer and better organised schools while adhering strictly to the government regulations that determined the award of grants, the Basel Mission was divided between the policy of pleasing their village communities by keeping less organised vernacular schools with unqualified staff and failing to satisfy government regulations. Well organised schools did not only attract government support, they also attracted more pupils and that may partially explain why the Mission lost the leading position in enrolments that they held under the Germans. The tradition of establishing vast numbers of village schools without qualified staff has persisted till today, and partially accounts for the contemporary problems of the Presbyterian Church schools. The assumption that the Basel Mission education could have prospered more under the Germans but for their defeat at the war remains arguable. The increasing German nationalism and overbearing desire for world conquest at the eve of the First world War, which contradicted the principles for which the Basel Mission stood, were already having profound impact on the Mission's relations with the regime by 1911. Thus the situation of the Basel Mission under a victorious German colonial rule might not have been different.

The next chapter intends to find out whether or not Cameroonians perceptions of education, as demonstrated by their reactions to it since pre-colonial period, has contributed to the current stalemate. The reactions of Cameroonians to the policies of the different colonial and Missionary education policies are therefore examined to enhance an understanding of the problems that might have evolved to hinder change.

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<sup>86</sup>PCA. S. 505/2093 of June 1963. Correspondence by the Education Secretary to Basel.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### CAMEROONIAN REACTIONS TO COLONIAL AND MISSIONARY EDUCATION. 1886-1961.

African reasons for attending schools (Missionary and non-Missionary) varied, but most were related to well-defined political, social, or economic goals....few Africans attended Mission schools for the sake of their eschatological message...(because) Africans' spiritual needs were well provided for through traditional belief systems.<sup>1</sup>

African interests in education conflicted with those of the colonial rulers and the Missionary societies. The colonial rulers insisted on a pattern of education that could enhance colonial rule. The Missionaries placed religion at the forefront of the school curriculum because to them education detached from its religious moorings was valueless. Meanwhile, Africans asked for more utilitarian subjects on the curricula which could enable them have access into the European economy. These different perceptions of the school's role by both the colonial rulers and the Missionaries, on the one hand, and their African clientele, on the other, underpin African reactions during the colonial era. The tension resulting from the conflicting opinions of education must have influenced Africans attitudes to education. Therefore the assumption that Africans resisted the introduction of education and were non-contributory to educational development<sup>2</sup> is debatable.

This chapter examines the nature of African reactions and the impact on educational development in Cameroon. The inter-personal relationships between Africans and Europeans are analyzed. The relations between the various ethnic and political groups that helped or hindered either directly or indirectly, in the development of education are also discussed. This study sees these inter-relationships and interactions as influential factors in the formation of attitudes to education and consequently as implicit impediments to post-colonial reforms.

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<sup>1</sup>Berman E.H., (ed) *African reactions to Missionary Education*, New York, Teachers College Press., 1975., pp.xi - xii.

<sup>2</sup>Graham C.K., *The history of education in Ghana: from the earliest times to the Declaration of independence*, London, Frank Cass., 1971.

Cameroon education as illustrated in the preceding chapters was dominated by Missionary societies except, to a limited extent, in the later part of the French colonial rule when state control became more significant. Missionaries brought with them not only religious values but their cultures which were transmitted implicitly through education. Both aspects were important in determining the pattern of Missionary education. The pseudo-scientific "facts" placing Africans at the barbaric stage of human development, which generated debate on the educability of the African in the 19th and early 20th centuries also influenced colonial and Missionary perceptions of the Africans and determined the type of education they considered appropriate for Africans. Inevitably, colonial officials and Missionaries disagreed at times on matters of African political and educational policies but, more frequently, Missionaries actively encouraged the extension of imperial control which inevitably provoked African reactions.

The establishment and expansion of education during the colonial period and especially in the post-colonial period could not have been accomplished without the contributions of some Cameroonians and their active participation. Consequently, colonial and Missionary education might be considered a joint effort of the Europeans and Africans. The notion of African reaction might trigger a debate on the representation. The proportion of the population, the group involved and their representativeness might be argued. Evidently, the proportion of Cameroonians involved in education until independence remained insignificant, but the number of people involved in reactions against European institutions outnumbered this group depending on the pattern of social organisation (centralized or acephalus ) and the ~~skill for~~ leadership. Underpinning all reactions were the interests of the leaders in particular and the society in general. To the common man, education was inseparable from all other European institutions.

Although this study refers to "Cameroonian reaction", it is worthy to note that not all Cameroonians reacted in the same way at the same time. Some welcomed education while others rejected it. Their actions depended on their awareness of the importance of education and their exposure to education.

From the introduction of education in 1844 till the turn of the century, education was limited to a few people (Douala, Bakweri and Batanga) in the main trading centres on the coast. These were people who sought to maximise their commercial gains through

the acquisition of European knowledge. Later on, the reactions of the rulers of the centralized states of the hinterland were associated with strengthening their political powers.<sup>3</sup> The authority of these rulers over their people and the cohesion of the extended family pattern guaranteed massive support on issues that affected their interests. Therefore, while reactions might have been less popular in the ascephalous societies, those in the centralized kingdoms were generally substantial.

Reactions from the Second World War took a new turn because leadership moved from the traditional rulers to educated elites. They took advantage of the new political and economic structures provided by European rule to establish their power base. Hence workers syndicates and political parties (patterned after cultural affiliations and associated with ethnic and regional boundaries) became the principal forum for expressing reactions to colonial institutions. Inevitably, the masses (often ignorant) were led to action by a few but influential politicians as a study of the relations with the respective colonial regimes and the Missionary societies will show.

### **Cameroonian reactions during German rule:**

Apparently, education more than any other imperialistic factor facilitated German annexation of Cameroon. The introduction of Missionary education in 1844 encouraged the coastal elites of Cameroon to request for the support of Queen Victoria's assistance in the expansion of English culture in the territory<sup>4</sup> because Cameroonians believed that education was the "magic" formula to European advancement. This suggests African discernment of the values of Western education and a positive Cameroonian reaction motivated by expectations of economic, social, political and cultural developments preceded colonialism.

But Cameroonian reactions invariably conflicted with imperialistic impulses. It would, however, be an exaggeration to argue that the responses remained one of confrontations throughout the three decades of German rule. German rule points to three

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<sup>3</sup>Owing to an old established long distant trade between these kingdoms and the coastal people, it is probable that they were aware of western education before the arrival of the first Europeans in the region.

<sup>4</sup>PRO. CO. 84/1571., 1569, 1580, 1617, 1627, 1634, 1650-32, 1654-35. Also see Mbuagbaw T.F., and Brian R., *The History of Cameroon*, London, Longmans 1987 p.59 and Mveng E., *L'histoire du Cameroun*, Yaounde, CEPER., 1985, p.30.

possible periods that characterise Cameroonian reactions and participation in the development of western education.

The first period logically preceded the beginning of pacification wars and oppressive German rule in different parts of the territory.<sup>5</sup> During this period there were still high expectations from both sides and a considerable degree of collaboration and respect for both parties. Nachtigal, the chief negotiator for German annexation, pointed out in his report of August 1884 that Cameroonians asked for education and were even ready to pay for the establishment and development of education.<sup>6</sup> Thus there was enthusiasm and determination for the establishment of German education. King Bell's family helped the first German appointed teacher, Christaller, to study the Douala language and to produce learning and teaching materials, and also provided land for the first school in Douala.<sup>7</sup>

Similar excitement and attitudes were expressed by other Cameroonian leaders as the Germans advanced into the interior of the territory. When the first German party arrived in the western high plateau of what is described variously as "Grassfield", "Bamenda highland" or "Bamenda Province", they were requested by the paramount ruler to introduce their education system in the area. Chilver argues that the people of this area and especially from Bali wanted to learn and understand what made the "white man" different.<sup>8</sup> Lekunze confirms that most Cameroonians were so impressed by the first German visitors that they tended to accept anything European uncritically and with favour.<sup>9</sup> The impression created by Zintgraff, the first European visitor to Bali kingdom,

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<sup>5</sup>Rubin N., *Cameroon: An African Federation*, London, Pall Mall., 1971 pp.29-32. Also see Rudin H., *Germans in the Cameroons 1884-1914: A Case study in modern imperialism*, New Haven., Yale University Press, 1931, pp.307-310. Rubin argues that, although pacification wars may be dated from December 1884 the actual wars of conquests dated from 1887 when explorations of the hinterland and suppression of resistance started.

<sup>6</sup>Akten betreffend die Einrichtung von schulen in Kamerun.

<sup>7</sup>ibid. Also see Rudin H., op. cit., p.354.

<sup>8</sup>Chilver E.M., *Zintgraff's Explorations in Bamenda, Adamawa and the Benue lands, 1889-1892*, Buea, Government Press., 1966.

<sup>9</sup>Lekunze E.F., "Chieftaincy and christianity in Cameroon, 1886 -1926; A historical and comparative analysis of the evangelistic strategy of the Basel Mission". Ph.D. Chicago, 1987.

motivated the ruler, Fon Galega 1, to invite Missionaries to his territory.<sup>10</sup> When the Mission delayed, he petitioned in 1897 to the Colonial Office in Berlin requesting specifically, for the services of the Basel Mission to establish a school.<sup>11</sup> In 1900, his son and successor to the throne, Fon Fonyonga II, renewed the request.<sup>12</sup>

The Germans might have misconstrued the persistent appeals for a desire to establish the Christian church, but Fon Galega's shrewdness in handling issues on religion tends to dismiss that argument. Galega avoided talking much on religious matters and was ready to receive many European religious denominations provided they brought education and change to his people.<sup>13</sup> This ultimately illustrates that Africans knew what they wanted out of European imperialism right from their first contact. By dismissing Zintgraff's question on religion as "futility of brain racking for things not seen" and preferring to receive more than one denomination "since good things must be taken from all sides",<sup>14</sup> Galega clearly exemplified African contemporary expectation of imperialism. It can therefore be argued that African rulers were not stupid in submitting their autonomy to Europeans.

Further evidence to illustrate the desire for education and not religion can be discerned from the experiences of the first Missionary Ernst F. when he arrived Bali in 1903. Fon Fonyonga, and his people constructed a residence and a school and were very hospitable. Before the Missionary fully settled, the Fon had submitted himself to Ernst to be taught how to read and write German.<sup>15</sup> The Fon's support for the school through the

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<sup>10</sup>Autenrieth F; *Chez les Balis*, translated from German in 1905 by Krieg E., Geneva, 1905.

<sup>11</sup>Keller W; *The History of the Presbyterian Church in West Cameroon*, Victoria, Pressbook., 1969. pp.26-27.

<sup>12</sup>See Basel Mission Cameroon, "Une Exploration à Bali" in *Le Missioonaire*, No.1 of January 1903, p.6.

<sup>13</sup> Hausz K., *Aus dem Leben von F. Ernst der Pionier der BaliMission*, Basel, 1912, pp.42-49. Also see Van Slageren J., *Les origines de l' Église évangélique du Cameroun: Missions Européens et Christianisme autochtone*, Leiden, E.J. Brill., 1972. p.97.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>15</sup>*ibid.*



recruitment of pupils,<sup>16</sup> donation of 200 marks for the purchase of slates, and his personal supervision of regular attendance, led to the rapid growth of the school which is said to have registered 450 pupils including 30 girls by 1905. His own children were among this group.<sup>17</sup> His interest and participation also demonstrate African participation in spreading and promoting education which most literature on African education seem to ignore. Graduates of this school included the son of king Njoya of Bamoun, Lima Gwankudvala of Bali who became a popular teacher and helped in opening many schools during the German and early British rule as well as Abraham Ngankou of Bansoa who became the first Bamileke pastor.<sup>18</sup>

Similar to the Bali experience was that of Njoya of Bamoun who did not hesitate to learn how to read and write. He helped in building and enrolling pupils in the first school opened in Foumban in 1906.<sup>19</sup> Njoya's interest in European education was so overwhelming that he gave up Islam to become a christian but was refused baptism because he was a polygamist.

The German colonialists and Missionaries tended to marginalise these rulers. Consequently, their interests in European education declined. For instance a disagreement between Fonyonga and the Germans over the failure to retrieve 2,000 German guns from the kingdom affected their relations and in turn led to the decline of education. Secondly, the rulers could not bear to see their children being flogged at school. Hence pupils enrolled during the later years were rarely from the royal or noble families. Finally, none of them was ready to renounce polygamy for the sake of baptism. Therefore Cameroonian attitudes towards the introduction of western education were initially enthusiastic but the sustenance of this excitement and continued hospitality to colonial and Missionary educators depended largely on Europeans' responses to Cameroonians' interests. When

<sup>16</sup>Fohtung, M. G., "Self-Portrait of a Cameroonian", in *Paideuma* 38, 1992. Fohtung states the drama of their recruitment into the first school. The author also interviewed Fohtung on the subject and gathered that the pupils remained grateful to their king for the initiative he took in encouraging them to go to school.

<sup>17</sup>Lekunze E. F., op. cit. p.16.

<sup>18</sup> Fohtung, M. G., in interview with researcher.

<sup>19</sup>Van Slageren J., op. cit. p.102.

colonialism was repressive and disrespectful to traditional culture, Cameroonians became apprehensive and resentful.

The second phase of Cameroonian reaction to education under German rule, can be situated during Governor Jesco von Puttkamer's unpopular reign (1895-1907). His brutality and immoral practices led to a general resistance in most parts of the territory and seriously affected school attendance. Sending children to school was seen as exposing them for recruitment into forced labour in German plantations, railway and road construction.<sup>20</sup> In Douala, German attempts to move Cameroonians from their old plateau residence at Jos town to the outskirts of the town, in order to expropriate the beautiful site for exclusive European residence met with strong resistance.<sup>21</sup> The expropriation decision added to the violation of the terms of the treaty of annexation in which the Germans promised to maintain the Douala peoples' intermediary role in trade with the interior, to aggravate the deteriorating relations.

In Bamoun, Njoya's reaction was demonstrated through the re-invention of his own scripts<sup>22</sup> known as *shumôm* in 1910. His initiative to create his own form of writing was probably derived from Arabic writings before the arrival of Europeans in his kingdom. His motivations and reasons deserve further investigation. Chilver argues that the script was intended for palace language only.<sup>23</sup> But in view of the establishment of the schools all over Bamoun, it can be argued that a wider use was intended. Suffice it to note here that between 1895 and 1896 (preceding Europeans arrival), Njoya had assembled his dignitaries and wise men to discuss the possibilities of creating a form of writing to facilitate communication. He suggested the use of picture signs to represent living things and ideographics for ideas.<sup>24</sup> This initiative was suspended by the arrival of the Missionaries who introduced western education which, appeared less cumbersome to

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<sup>20</sup>See Rudin H., op. cit. pp.297-314.

<sup>21</sup>ibid. pp.367-368.

<sup>22</sup>Gôhring M., "Mitteilungen aus den neuesten Berichten, Kamerun, Grasland" in *Der evangelische Heidenbote*, 1910, p.72.

<sup>23</sup>Chilver, E.M., Interview at Oxford, March 1995. Information based on Njasse's writings which are still in progress.

<sup>24</sup>See Njasse N.A., *De Njoya a Njimolu, Cent ans d'histoire Bamoun.*, Fouban ,1984 p. 30-35.

study. For pragmatic reasons, Njoya therefore abandoned the scheme and supported Missionary education.

Initially, he taught the Christian religion and maintained the Mission timetable in his school. This strategy was aimed ultimately at attracting the pupils from Christian families because when enrolment increased and confidence was established, Njoya shifted the curriculum from a christian background to an amalgamation of Bamoun culture, Islamic culture and christian culture, so as to integrate all cultural groups in the kingdom. This mixture attracted several children to the school and enrolment in the German schools declined. By 1915, there were already 47 *shumôm* schools.<sup>25</sup>

*Shumôm* developed so well that correspondence within the kingdom and beyond depended largely on it and by the time Njoya died in 1933, there were over 1000 graduates of the school. A 547 page volume of Bamoun history was written in *shumôm*.<sup>26</sup> Njoya died a Muslim, a religion that tolerated the Bamoun culture. Thus African reaction to education depended on Europeans attitudes to African traditions and interests. In all circumstances, the benefits that Africans sought for were social and economic, and where these were attained, cultural dissipation became inevitable.

Another reaction to education under the Germans was manifested by the Bakweri people of Buea where the Basel Mission had already established a school. The Government decided to expropriate them from the fertile area and give the land to German planters. Led by Kuva Likenye, the Bakweri people fought and killed Gravenreth, leader of the German repressive troop in 1891. To erase any vestiges of European institutions, they destroyed the school. It was only after 1894 that the Germans conquered them and re-established the school.<sup>27</sup>

A similar rebellions were manifested by the people in the south, east and north between 1888 and 1905, followed by a series of pacification campaigns which unfortunately were characterised by brutal and ruthless treatment of captured men and

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<sup>25</sup>Van Slagaren J., op. cit. p.106.

<sup>26</sup>ibid. p.33.

<sup>27</sup>Mveng E., op. cit. 1984, pp.49-50.

women. These repressive measures ultimately portrayed the Germans and their institutions, more as enemies than as friends. Since Cameroonians could not distinguish between colonialists and Missionaries, schooling, whether Missionary or Government became unpopular.

The scandals caused by Governor von Puttkamer troops during his 12 years rule (1895-1907) deeply affected education. He tolerated brutality, corporal punishment and scandalous sex abuses by the soldiers. Hence fear of the German soldiers discouraged school attendance. His hatred for the Douala and Bali people undoubtedly restricted the spread of education because he suppressed the local languages that could have enhanced better understanding and faster development of education.<sup>28</sup> Puttkamer himself was a moral degenerate as confirmed by petitions and charges against him at the Reichstag which eventually led to the termination of his appointment.<sup>29</sup>

His successor, Governor Theodor Seitz (1907-1910) was a contrasting character who demonstrated absolute interest in the well-being of the Cameroonians and initiated various reforms aimed at giving basic human rights. His appointment marks the third stage of Cameroonian reaction to education. The change of leadership at the Colonial Office in Berlin also contributed to a more positive German effort in educational development during post-Puttkamer era as developed in chapter two of this study. By organising the first education conference in Cameroon in 1907, Seitz was able to produce the first policy to guide Cameroon education. This revived a general interest in education throughout the territory.

It is worth noting that Cameroonian reactions were demonstrated not only through hostilities but also through legal and administrative measures. During the Douala protest against land expropriation, Chief Rudolf Douala Manga Bell, (successor of Manga Ndumbe) paramount ruler of Douala and civil servant in the German service petitioned and reminded the government of article three of the treaty of annexation which stated that:

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<sup>28</sup>ibid. pp. 50-56.

<sup>29</sup>Shu S.N. op. cit. p.61.

...the land on which we farm and where our villages are built will remain the property of the present owners and their descendants.<sup>30</sup>

During the visit of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Dr. Solf, the Douala people presented their protest. Although the German's response to the protest was to depose Manga Bell,<sup>31</sup> it was evident that his leadership encouraged many parents to realise the benefit of education. His dethronement led the people to resort to legal appeal. They hired two German lawyers, Dr. Fleming from Hamburg and Dr. Halpert from Berlin and sent an emissary, Ngosso Din, to protest in Germany. Manga Bell's boldness and ability to initiate administrative and legal measures were seen by his people to be the result of his knowledge of the European secret power enshrined in education. Thus by the end of German rule, the impact of education was clear. The conflicts arising from Cameroonian and German interests affected the development of education and influenced the nature of educational development under the French and the British regimes.

#### Cameroonian reactions during French rule:

Cameroonian attitudes to education at the beginning of French rule were mixed. Some welcomed the change from German rule to French rule while others wanted the end of all European rule. As indicated in chapters three and four, German interest in Cameroon was not relinquished until after the Second World War. Meanwhile the French were determined to rule regardless of any resistance. These conflicting interests shaped Cameroonian reactions during the mandate period.

The execution of Rudolf Douala Manga Bell and Ngosso Din in Douala on the eve of the war had been followed by that of Martin Samba, leader of the Bulus at Ebolowa. In the north, two *Lamibee*<sup>32</sup> were executed while one Batanga chief was also deposed and executed.<sup>33</sup> These executions were followed immediately by the First World War after which France and Britain replaced the Germans. It became difficult for Cameroonians in the face of these events to react against the new rulers. They resorted

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<sup>30</sup>Mveng E., op. cit. 1984 p.97.

<sup>31</sup>He was deposed on 4 August 1913 pending a solution to the problem. See more in Mveng E., op. cit.

<sup>32</sup>Title given to rulers of the former Fulani empire; singular is lamido and plural is lamibee. See more details in Njeuma M.Z., *Fulani Hegemony in Yola (old Adamawa) 1809-1902*, Yaounde, CEPER., 1978.

<sup>33</sup>ibid. p.98-99.

to submission and considered education as an indispensable tool for socio-economic development and a means to eventual freedom.

Indisputably, the change of the colonial regime and Missionary societies introduced similar educational opportunities to satisfy Cameroonian aspirations. The rapidity with which the French Government established non-fees paying schools gained immediate Cameroonian support. Meanwhile the appointment of a new German minister of colonies on 13 February 1919 threatened French hold particularly when the new minister declared unhesitatingly that:

It is important to note that we desire having the colonies; it is our right and I am determined to prove that a colonial empire is a vital question for Germany.<sup>34</sup>

Such pronouncements and other forms of German indications to reclaim their colonial territories kept France and French Missionaries alert to impress Cameroonians. As indicated in chapter three, France decided to make schooling available to every village.<sup>35</sup> The opening of continuing education classes or adult education schools in all administrative centres gained massive support for the French regime particularly from the literate and semi-literate population.<sup>36</sup>

The admission of Germany into the League of Nations in 1926, heightened French fears. Although Hitler had initially indicated negative design on reclaiming colonial territories, the return of many Germans to Cameroon to resume their socio-economic activities was threatening.<sup>37</sup> A group of Germans in Douala led by Firmenich, director of the Woermann company, was suspected of strengthening the propaganda on "German Kamerun".<sup>38</sup> This nostalgic campaign was further strengthened by the visit and subsequent publications of high ranking German officials.<sup>39</sup> These activities urged France to seek

<sup>34</sup>Mveng E., op. cit. p.124.

<sup>35</sup>Arrêté of 23 March 1921 organising primary schools in *Journal Officiel* of 15 August 1921 p.1.

<sup>36</sup>ibid., articles 9-12.

<sup>37</sup>NAB. Ba. 1926., Annual Report; Return of German Planters and Missionaries.

<sup>38</sup>Mveng E., op. cit., p.156.

<sup>39</sup> ibid., pp.150-15. Mveng E. has cited the case of Wilhem Kemner in 1936 and Eva MacLean in 1938-39 who after their visits wrote on "Unser Kamerun von Heute" or "our Cameroon today".

ways to gain Cameroonian support. The French found education to be both appropriate and a necessary means to inculcate French habits. France also sought for declarations and even signatures to demonstrate Cameroonian attachment.<sup>40</sup>

As discussed in chapter three, French education during the mandate was dominated by elementary schools which could not qualify those aspiring for assimilation into French citizenship. Some Cameroonians led by Kingue Jony and supported by some enlightened rulers such as chief Betote Akwa of Douala in Douala<sup>41</sup> expressed their dissatisfaction through a newspaper entitled, *mbalé*, which means, "the truth".<sup>42</sup>

Through manipulations and even corruptions, the rest of the elites, comprising ex-pupils of the Higher Primary school of Yaounde, declared their loyalty to the French regime. Propaganda through publications in the French colonial review, *Le Togo-Cameroun* and other periodicals carrying persuasive articles on German follies and Cameroonian attachment to France written by people like Jean Martet, the former Secretary to Clemenceau who visited Cameroon in 1933 and Martin du Gard who visited in 1938 were circulated.<sup>43</sup> For the propaganda to be meaningful, there was need to expand education.

While administrative measures were being taken to suppress anti-French sentiments, encouragement for a pro-French elite group was undertaken to disconcert solidarity amongst the educated class. Thus Paul Soppo Priso of Douala, who later became a parliamentarian in the French Assembly, received French support to lead a pro-French group.<sup>44</sup> By 1938, his movement, "*La Jeunesse Camerounaise-Française*" or *La jeucafra*,<sup>45</sup> was launched with the support and protection of the colonial regime. Cameroonian youths

<sup>40</sup>See "Le Cameroun, creation française" in *Revue de L'Empire Française*, April 1939.

<sup>41</sup>Mveng E., op. cit. p.158.

<sup>42</sup>This word or expression is in the Douala language and it is often used in taking oaths in order to show truthfulness and sincerity.

<sup>43</sup>Mveng E. has argued that these visits and publications were sponsored by the French colonial office to counteract German propaganda and secure French hold on Cameroon.

<sup>44</sup>Annual Report for 1943; see also Mveng E., op. cit. p.158.

<sup>45</sup>Annual Report for 1944; also see Mveng E., op. cit., p. 167. "*Jeucafra*" was a shortened form of the French expression for "Young French-Cameroonians".

of this period eventually became the ruling class at independence. Thus the manipulations and corruptions they went through to protect the colonial regime were imbibed and seem to have become part of their ruling practice at independence. Additionally, by gaining French nationality, their sense of identity was distorted by the notion of dual nationality. This partly explains the continued post-colonial dependence on France. However, measures to frustrate anti-French manifestations occurred until one of the leaders, Theodor Dikongue was executed in 1943.<sup>46</sup>

At the Brazaville conference of 1944 France indicated a change of attitude to education. General de Gaulle declared,

...no progress can be considered progress if people are unable to profit morally and materially from their own native land; if they are not able to develop gradually to the level of being capable of managing their own affairs. It is the duty of France to bring them progressively to this level.<sup>47</sup>

A school system was developed reflecting the African environment but with improved quality to enable the graduate to participate in the administration of the colony. The education system had to inculcate in the *évolués* special love and respect for France so that in return they could also have all the benefits bestowed on French people of their qualification. It was presumed that by encouraging the *évolués* with equal rights, they will become devoted to France. On the contrary, some of the *évolués* found in the opportunities open to them, a chance at last to pursue African interests. The clash of interests with the French shaped post-war Cameroon reactions to French colonial and Mission education.

The post-Brazaville period was one of great expectations for Cameroonians. They anticipated more opportunities for educational developments. As noted in chapter three, Nationalism underpinned Cameroonian attitudes to education during the post-war era. Nationalist pressure combined with the promise made at Brazaville to urge the Government in 1945 to send 200 Cameroonians to France for further studies.<sup>48</sup> Secondary

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<sup>46</sup>Annual Report, 1944. Also in the report of the Brazaville conference.

<sup>47</sup>FO.371/42216., The Brazaville Conference of 1944.

<sup>48</sup> Among them was Magdalen Azang Mbono Samba who became the first female Cameroonian head-teacher in Yaounde and subsequently, principal of the Lycee at Ebolowa before becoming parliamentarian in 1983. Interview with Madam Mbono Samba.



education was started for Cameroonians in Yaounde in 1946 and quickly spread to other towns. Teachers Training Colleges were also developed in Foumban, Dschang and Nkongsamba while professional and technical colleges expanded in Douala and Yaounde. These were not just the normal developments following French designs. The formation of trade unions and political parties after the war combined with demands for social developments to spur the colonial regime into action.

The French decree of 7 August 1944 authorizing the formation of trade unions in French territories in Africa, invariably heightened nationalistic spirit in Cameroon. French trade unionists were brought to coach Cameroonian professional workers. Teachers unions, railway workers union and other professional unions were formed.<sup>49</sup> By December 1944 the confederation of Cameroon Trade Unions<sup>50</sup> was established and associated with the Confederation of Trade Unions in France.<sup>51</sup> The beginning of Cameroon trade unionism coincided with strikes in Douala on 24 and 25 August 1945 resulting in deaths.<sup>52</sup> An inquiry into the strike favoured the Cameroonian working population who were awarded wage increases. This boosted the morale of the trade union leaders. One of their regular demands was education for workers children and continued education for the workers.<sup>53</sup>

The election of Cameroonians into the French parliament introduced another dimension to Cameroonian attitudes to colonial policy. Whereas Cameroonians initially had no political ideologies guiding their political inclinations, their entry into the French parliament initiated them into political ideologies since they had to affiliate themselves to respective French political parties. This ideological indoctrination had profound implications for Cameroonian leaders. Donat, the French communist, schooled Um Nyobe into the spirit and methods of Marxism, and his radicalism subsequently carried French Cameroon into a bloody nationalist war against French imperialism and neo-colonialism

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<sup>49</sup>Mveng E., op. cit., p.185.

<sup>50</sup>L'Union des Syndicats Confédéré du Cameroun (U.S.C.C.)

<sup>51</sup> The firebrand of Cameroon nationalism, Ruben Um Nyobe and a future Prime Minister of French Cameroon, Mr. Charles Assale were in the first executive of the confederation.

<sup>52</sup>ibid.

<sup>53</sup>PRO.FO 371/36216 Douala Intelligence Reports.

from 1952 to 1971.<sup>54</sup> Mveng intimates that Um Nyobe was at the United Nations at least twice every year from 1952 to petition against French rule and to strengthen the case for more and better education, more economic and political freedom<sup>55</sup> as well as re-unification with British Cameroon.<sup>56</sup> The paradox is that Um Nyobe loved the French culture, which implied love for French education. This obsession for French culture and education involved many Cameroonians and partially explain why attempts to reform post-colonial education policy (which was the vehicle of French culture) has always met with resistance.

The implications of trade unionism and political activities for education were substantial and might explain why post-colonial Francophone education is deeply entrenched in politics. Activists used schools, school children, school buildings and teachers for their protests. Regular school attendance became difficult. When Um Nyobe's "Union des Populations Camerounaises" party (U.P.C.) decided to go underground and fight the colonial regime from 1955, schooling was constantly disturbed. Therefore nationalism played the double role of urging the colonial regime to provide education and rendered the atmosphere difficult for education to develop.

Meanwhile, education during self-government in the French zone remained unchanged. The curricula remained as reformed in 1955<sup>57</sup> and the school structures at all levels of schooling remained as they were under the colonial regime. It may be argued that the Francophone self-government was attained amidst civil crisis and that independence came too fast. But Francophone African states are generally reluctant to undertake educational reforms except when the entire region is involved and often with co-ordination from France.

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<sup>54</sup>After the assassination of Um Nyobe, his followers continued with terrorist campaigns until 1971 when the ring leaders were caught and executed in the "Dongmo's Case".

<sup>55</sup>The rapid growth of French people in Cameroon in the post-war period from 3000 in 1945 to 15,000 by 1960 was hated for imperialist exploitation.

<sup>56</sup>ibid p.197.

<sup>57</sup>NAY. Journal Officiel., 1956, pp.245-246.

Within the Missionary societies were also important developments related to Cameroonian leadership role in independent churches during the post-war period. The protestant Missions granted independence to the Evangelical Church of Cameroon and the Baptist Church which became known as the Union of Baptist Churches of Cameroon on 10 March 1957.<sup>58</sup> The Catholic Mission was gradual in the process of establishing the local church and still maintained strong external relations. However Mission education became largely the preoccupation of Cameroonian church leaders. But no reforms could be effected since all schools were controlled by the Government.

### **Cameroonian reactions to education under the British regime:**

Under British rule, Cameroonians constantly demanded more access to education. Enthusiasm was also demonstrated by the willingness to participate in the development of the N.A. schools and support to Mission schools. While the joint administration of British Cameroon with Nigeria might have delayed the development of education, it stimulated the development of nationalism. This political development significantly affected education.

The inception of British rule had raised great expectations based on Cameroonians foreknowledge of British culture as discussed at the beginning of chapter four.<sup>59</sup> but the nostalgia for English culture met with a nonchalant British response, particularly in education. As indicated in chapter four, except for unapproved Mission vernacular schools under Cameroonian teacher-catechists, access to education was limited to just six government schools until 1922 when 12 Native Administration infant schools were created. Cameroonians who had attended school under the Germans, and were interested in continuing or enrolling their children demanded more schooling opportunities.

Besides, the teacher-catechist schools provoked socio-political problems that caused wide resentment particularly amongst traditional leaders. The Resident reported in 1924 that servants in royal palaces reacted against the rulers following the notion of freedom

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<sup>58</sup>Van Slageren J.V., op. cit., p.223.

<sup>59</sup>See the introduction and chapter four in respect to the pre-colonial Anglo-Cameroon relations and the predominance of English language and trade during the German era.

imbibed from western education.<sup>60</sup> As such some of the traditional rulers rose against the existence of the schools. The limited access to education was further stifled by the introduction of school fees. Discontentment was demonstrated from 1922 to 1924 against the exaction of school fees, as well as the building and maintenance of school buildings.<sup>61</sup> Rutherford, the administrative officer for Mamfe attributed the declining enrolment in schools to "a genuine reaction against the neglect of the people".<sup>62</sup>

In spite of these reactions, Cameroonian desire remained positive. Captain Denton, the administrative officer for Victoria observed that:

...The thirst for knowledge is increasing not for the sake of knowledge so much as for the pecuniary benefits and social prestige which it is hoped will accrue there from.<sup>63</sup>

Thus the reaction was not against education, but rather for more access to schooling. Apparently, Nigerians anti-colonial protests influenced Cameroonians and led them to organise themselves and present their grievances to the government.

From the early 1930s, the ideas of Herbert Macauley of the Nigerian National Democratic Party,<sup>64</sup> influenced Cameroonians to form the Cameroon Welfare Union (C.W.U.) which aimed at educating all other Cameroonians about the problems of development and to pressurize the Government for reforms.<sup>65</sup> In 1937, a delegation of C.W.U. met with the Director of Education and presented their complaints about education in the territory.<sup>66</sup> They asked for more primary schools and more training facilities for teachers as well as the establishment of a Government secondary school. That contact invariably influenced the establishment of Sasse college in 1939.

<sup>60</sup>NAB. Ba 1924/1., Annual Report for 1924, pp.8-10.

<sup>61</sup>NAB. Ba. 1924/1., p.57.

<sup>62</sup>ibid

<sup>63</sup>ibid.

<sup>64</sup>Coleman J.S., *Nigeria, Background to Nationalism*. Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1971, p.198.

<sup>65</sup>NAE. Sb/a., 1932/2

<sup>66</sup>NAE.Ab/a1932/7.

Events during the Second World War further strengthened the Cameroonian case against the British regime. Cameroonian soldiers during the war had corresponded with the Resident specifically on the issue of development based on the level of advancement they observed overseas.<sup>67</sup> From their earnings at the war front, these soldiers made pledges and even sent home contributions in cash towards development projects.<sup>68</sup> They insisted on the importance of improving the quality and quantity of education.

The influence of Cameroonians from the French zone also had a significant impact on the people's attitude towards British policy. Although Cameroon evolved under the two colonial regimes, unofficial contacts between the two territories were regular. During periods of oppression in the French zone, there was a massive exodus of French speaking Cameroonians into the British territory. For instance, during the period of railway extension and road construction when forced and unpaid labour was imposed in the French territory, many migrated to the British sector where they settled permanently. Some found paid employment in the German plantations within the British zone. Of the 12,128 labourers in the plantations by 1926, there were 6,330 Cameroonians from the French zone which constituted over 52% of the working population.<sup>69</sup> The number of French Cameroonians remained significant through out the colonial period. In 1960, repressive measures against terrorism led to over 5,000 refugees fleeing into British Southern Cameroon.<sup>70</sup>

Among these people were some who had special desire for British culture and education such as R.J.K. Dibonge. They were interested in the development of education for their children. They became the driving force in the quest for British education. Despite the influence of the French Cameroonians it is worthy to note that British Cameroonian demands and protests never at any moment attained the explosive dimension that was noticed under the French administration.<sup>71</sup> This might be attributed to the

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<sup>67</sup>NAB. Ba. 1941/1., Annual Report.

<sup>68</sup>ibid.

<sup>69</sup>Report to the League of Nations, 1927 p.35.

<sup>70</sup>PRO.FO371/147077., Application of treaties between UK and France on independent Cameroon.

<sup>71</sup>There was never an open confrontation between the nationalists and the ruling regime. Most protests were by petitions or through legal measures.

administrative system which avoided repression and the educational system which insisted on religious virtues.

However, despite the differences in the character of the reaction to the colonial regimes, similarities in the formation of protest groups can be identified. Several trade unions and development associations formed on basis of common ethnic or village backgrounds were established immediately after the war in the British zone.<sup>72</sup> Some of the prominent associations included: the Bakweri Development Union, the Bamenda Improvement Association and the Mamfe Improvement Association. The transformation of all the German plantations into a single company, the Cameroon Development Corporation, led to the establishment of a large trade union, Cameroon Development Corporation Workers Union (CDCWU).<sup>73</sup> The returning soldiers from the war front also established the Kamerun Ex-servicemen National Union (KENU).<sup>74</sup> All these associations had nationalist tendencies and education had top priority on their programmes. In 1943, during the visit of the Elliot's Commission on higher education in the colonies, those that were already in existence combined forces to produce a memorandum on education in British Cameroon.<sup>75</sup> The memorandum referred to the promise made by the Director of Education in 1937 and reminded the government that

...at present any Cameroonian wishing to obtain education higher than standard six, because of lack of room in the Roman Catholic Mission College at Sasse, must go to Nigeria, a procedure which because of insufficient means, the majority are loath to adopt and, as a result, the local educational standard is low and most of the higher government posts are therefore held by Nigerians.<sup>76</sup>

The memorandum was signed by representatives of all the associations, including; J.M. Williams, member of the Legislative Council of Nigeria representing Cameroon,<sup>77</sup>

<sup>72</sup>Report to the U. N. O., 1949, p.36.

<sup>73</sup>NAB Ba. 1947/1., p.8.

<sup>74</sup>The application of "K" for "C" in Cameroon was evocative of territorial unity as of the German period.

<sup>75</sup>NAE. Ab/a 1932/7., Cameroon Memorandum of Evidence before the Elliot Commission, 1943.

<sup>76</sup>ibid.

<sup>77</sup>The Legislative Council of Nigeria existed since 1923 but J.M. William, of Victoria local council, was appointed to represent Cameroon only as from 1942.

S.M. Ngoo, president of the Cameroon Welfare Union and E.M.L. Endeley, chairman of the Cameroon Youth League. Once more their thrust was on education with particular emphasis on post primary education. They indicated that

...out of the large number of children leaving school in this period only about two percent had advantage of any secondary education of any sort; and out of this frightful small number, only about 0.8% proceeds beyond form IV (the limit of Sasse College) by entering secondary schools in Nigeria.<sup>78</sup>

Their emphasis was on the development of secondary education so as to raise people who could be trained to fill these posts. They attributed the predominance of Nigerians in the civil service appointments within the territory as indicated in table 8.1. to low access to education. Only 80 Cameroonians out of an estimated population of 500,000 people could have places in the civil service. Recruitment into this grade like all other grades of the civil service depended entirely on educational qualifications. Thus inadequate provision of education could be seen as the obstacle to Cameroonians' aspirations to participate in the development of the country.

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<sup>78</sup>NAE. Sb/a 1932/7., op. cit.

Table 8.1: Cameroonians in the civil service by 1944.

Department	Higher appointment	Clerical Service	Teachers	Nurses & Midwives	Technical Staff
Customs	Nil	2	-	=	=
P & T	=	4(absorbed from German Service)	=	=	1
Provincial Service.	=	15	=	=	=
Nigerian Colonial H.Q.	=	=	=	=	=
Education	1 Supervising Teacher	1	20	=	=
Medical	1 Ast. Medical Officer	=	=	7 (m), 4(f)	=
Health	=	=	=	1 Inspector	=
Agric. & Co-operative	2 Ast. Agric. officers	4 Produce Examiners; 1 Co-op. Inspector	=	=	=
P.W.D.	=	2	=	=	=
Forestry	-	-	-	-	1 Ast. Ranger; 2 Foresters
Judicial	-	2	=	=	=
Mines	=	=	=	=	=
Colliery	=	=	=	=	=
Marine	=	=	=	=	1 J.T.S.
Railway	=	=	=	=	=
Police	=	=	=	=	1 Inspect.
Treasury & Audit	=	=	=	=	=
Prisons	=	=	=	-	1 Chief Warder

Source: Cameroon Memorandum of Evidence before the Elliot ComMission, 1943.

The memorandum also revealed that scholarships for secondary education were very limited. Between 1933 and 1944, only 16 students (including just one girl by 1935) had been granted government scholarships.<sup>79</sup> Yet even willing parents could not train their

<sup>79</sup>ibid.



children in secondary schools in Nigeria since they could not afford to sponsor them. Secondary education in Nigeria was more expensive than in Cameroon as illustrated by table 8.2

Table 8.2:Cost of schooling: Cameroon and Nigeria; 1961.

Item	Cost in Sasse	Cost in Nigeria
Tuition	£6.10. 0d.	£30.0. 0d.
Board	£43.10.0d.	£63.0. 0d.
Sports	£1 .0 . 0d.	£1 .0. 0d.
Books	£10.0.0d.	£12.10. 0d.
Fees	£60.0. 0d.	£107.0. 0d.

Source: Booth B.F., "A Comparative Study of Mission and Government involvement in educational development in West Cameroon; 1922-1969", Ph.D. U.C.L.A. 1973.

According to the elites, improvement in teacher education was of immediate importance. An analysis of elementary school results in 1943 confirmed that Missions and the Native Authority had the bulk of elementary school pupils but their results were not satisfactory when compared to those of the Government schools. The conclusion was that the only teacher training college was owned by Government with restricted number of places for the training of non-Government teaching staff. Table 8.3 further supports the case.

Table 8.3: 1943 elementary schools results per agency:

Agency	No. of schools	Entrants	Full Passes	Trial Passes	% passes
Government	5	122	52	19	42
Native Admin.	15	218	47	44	22
Missions	36	768	235	106	33
Total	59	1.048	334	169	97

Source: Compiled from NAE Sb/a 1932/7., Cameroon Memorandum of Evidence before the Elliot ComMission, 1943.

Based on this evidence, which showed Government schools as being much better than the other schools and assuming that the quality of the teachers contributed to the results, the elites requested for more teacher training schools and the up-grading of the existing one into a full Higher Elementary Teachers Training College.

The result was the establishment of two Mission Teachers Training Colleges and the upgrading of the Government College at Kumba into a full Higher Elementary

Training centre.<sup>80</sup> Ultimately, Government sponsorship of the Missions to open training centres was influenced by the elites. It was also because of the persistent problem that the Missions were facing with teachers trained in the government training centre. The tendency for such teachers, as discussed in chapter four, was to abandon the Mission and seek for a better paid job with the Government or elsewhere. Therefore, giving the Missions the opportunity to train their own teachers guaranteed more commitment and security.

The elites blamed the backwardness of the territory on the slow and inadequate provision of education. They asked for two secondary schools for boys to be located in the two distinct geographical regions of the grassland and the forest region. They also asked for a secondary school for girls to be built mid-way between the two regions. They requested more teachers training colleges and the up-grading of existing ones to train teachers for all the levels of primary school. Their requests demonstrated a strong acceptance of education and a highly motivated desire for elitist education because the issue of technical and professional education was not addressed.

Government response to the memorandum and subsequent pressures was the creation of the teachers training centres in Nyassoso, Bambui and Fiango and the establishment of the Basel Mission secondary school in Bali followed by the Catholic Mission girls' secondary school in Mamfe. Although these institutions belonged to the Missions, the Government contributed substantially in financing them. The maintenance and payment of Mission teachers during the post-war period was largely by the Government.

Nevertheless, some Cameroonians preferred the establishment of government owned institutions to avoid religious bias. But retired colonial administrators interviewed during this research argue that at the time it was illogical to create Government colleges in the territory when opportunities existed in Nigeria and the Government sponsored the Mission schools. Implicit in this response is the allegation that Cameroon politicians used the educational problem as a pretext for their ambitions. This might be supported by the

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<sup>80</sup>ibid.

new trend of political development after the war leading to the achievement of regional status.

In 1945, when the British Southern Cameroon branch of the N.C.N.C. held its first constitutional convention, it was not surprising that militants, representing different organisations and social classes, unanimously proclaimed their intention to achieve internal self-government because they were losing in the joint administration with Nigeria.<sup>81</sup> Dr. E.M.L. Endeley, and P.M. Kale, presented education as the *de facto* reason for the backwardness of British Southern Cameroon.

The post-war constitutional reforms mentioned in chapter four, further exacerbated the situation in Cameroon. The Richards' constitution, of 1946 which created regional governments incorporated British Southern Cameroon in the Eastern region. The regional assemblies performed advisory role and served as link between the Native Administration and Legislative Council. Fon V.S. Galega of Bali and Chief J. Manga William of Victoria were appointed to represent the Bamenda and Cameroon provinces respectively as Native Authority representatives into the Regional Assembly.<sup>82</sup>

Thus Southern Cameroon had no representation at the Federal Legislative Council. Secondly, by appointing representatives into the regional Assembly instead of voting them, the practice was considered by the elites to be undemocratic and therefore non-representative. The immediate reaction was the formation of a political party. In 1949, E.M.L. Endeley organised the Cameroon National Federation (C.N.F.) which represented over 20 ethnic groups and trade unions. Both the traditional and educated elites were brought together to fight for the territory. However, since the Richards' constitution was equally unpopular in Nigeria, Kale accompanied the N.C.N.C. delegation to protest against the constitution in London.<sup>83</sup>

While the Nigerian protest dwelt on the discrimination between Nigerians and Europeans in the army and civil service as well as the undemocratic nature of the

<sup>81</sup>NAB. Ba. 1945/1., Also see Eyongetah and Brian, op. cit., p.123.

<sup>82</sup>Report to the U.N.O. for 1949 p.20.

<sup>83</sup>The delegation presented their protest to Sir Arthur Creech, the colonial secretary.

Richards constitution; the special memorandum on Cameroon highlighted the plight of Cameroon educational system as the cause of underdevelopment.<sup>84</sup> Kale further asked for a separate region for Cameroon. The Secretary of State's negative response, was the springboard for the political demands of the 1950s that led to decolonization.

A revision of the constitution by Sir John Macpherson was based on popular consultations at the provincial, regional and Federal levels.<sup>85</sup> The two provinces of British Southern Cameroons held a joint consultation in Mamfe and resolved for a separate regional status for the territory.<sup>86</sup> The problems of education were used at each political meeting to whip up support. Unfortunately, the resolution was rejected at the Regional Consultation in Nigeria where Cameroon was represented only by four delegates. Nigerians argued along with the government that:

...the position of the Cameroons as a separate region would be financially unsound and politically most difficult to organise.<sup>87</sup>

The consultative assembly recommended that

...the aspirations of Cameroons and Bamenda Provinces might satisfactorily be met by special provision for representation from the territory in the Regional House of Assembly and Executive Council and in the new central Executive Council and Legislature.<sup>88</sup>

The relevance of this resolution and the entire political process, to this study is that instead of four, opportunity was given for 13 representatives. For the first time Cameroonians voted for their representatives in 1952. And of the 13 members from British Southern Cameroon, the majority were ex-serving teachers and Church pastors.<sup>89</sup>

The Macpherson constitution was short-lived for British Southern Cameroons. A brawl arose between Cameroonian and Nigerian representatives when S.T. Muna, was

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<sup>84</sup>Kale P.M. "Memorandum submitted to the Secretary of State for Colonies on the administration of Nigeria and Cameroons" in *Pan-African*, of October-November 1947.

<sup>85</sup>Report to the U.N.O. 1949 p.33.

<sup>86</sup>ibid.

<sup>87</sup>ibid p.34.

<sup>88</sup>ibid.

<sup>89</sup>Report to the U.N. O., 1953.

voted off his ministerial post by the majority Nigerians in the Regional Assembly in 1953. In solidarity, the 13 Cameroonians staged a walk out from the Assembly and insisted for either a separate Regional Assembly or no representation. This incident was fuelled by the dominance of Nigerians in the Cameroon civil service (table 8.1) and in the private sector of the economy. The arrogance of the Ibo people from Eastern Nigeria, who regarded Cameroonians with scorn as backward people, gave the Cameroonian elites the impression that they had become a colony of the Eastern Region. They blamed the haughtiness exhibited by the Nigerians on slow educational development in the territory. Their action added to the report of the Visiting United Nations' Missions which suggested the separation of Cameroon budget from that of Nigeria for better development.<sup>90</sup>

From 1954, British Southern Cameroon gained a regional status that helped eventually in accelerating educational growth in the territory. The responsibility previously exercised by the Regional Director of Education for Eastern Region devolved upon a Chief Education Officer for Southern Cameroon stationed in Buea.<sup>91</sup> An adaptation law was passed whereby amendments were made to involve greater Cameroonian participation in educational development. The Southern Cameroon Board of Education replaced the Central Board of Education for Nigeria and had Cameroonian representatives from each division and the representative of Teachers Union.<sup>92</sup> From 1955, the new structures were used to adapt Nigerian educational regulations to suit the province. Although no fundamental changes were introduced, the political elites rejoiced for participating in the development of educational planning. Even the United Nations Visiting Mission acknowledged that

...the inhabitants of the territory take part in formulating educational policy through the elected members of the legislative and also through Parents Committees, local Education Committees, Divisional Education Committees and as members Boards of Governors of the major schools and training centres.<sup>93</sup>

This chapter has highlighted the nature of the reaction of Cameroonians to education since its introduction. The reactions were linked to political ambitions usually

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<sup>90</sup>Report to the U. N. O., 1953.

<sup>91</sup>Report to the U.N.O. for 1954, p.105.

<sup>92</sup>Report to the U.N.O. for 1955 p.161.

<sup>93</sup>Report to the U.N.O. to 1956 pp.494-495.

master-minded by a few influential people using either their traditional leadership positions or status gained by merit of their educational achievement. As education evolved, the circle of these "elites" increased and the ethnic and regional representation widened. The leadership became increasingly that of the educated people. Their demands centred more on access to education and less on the type and relevance of education. Hence on attaining autonomy, they maintained the same educational system and reforms could only be associated with opening more access as discussed in chapter five. Therefore the inter-relationships and interactions between the colonial rulers, the Missions and the Cameroonian leaders had different motives but influenced the development of education.

Of the three regimes the two systems of education that developed and had impact on Cameroonians' attitude to education were the French and the British. But their colonial education policies and orientations differed. Their reactions to the political, economic and social demands of the people also differed. These differences were imbibed by the respective groups and have become their frame of reference. In both sectors, the curricula, have remained unchanged except for the introduction of some aspects of Cameroon and African studies. The textbooks and evaluation systems have hardly changed. Employment in public and private sectors continues to rely on certifications. Consequently, many people still support the retention of the inherited systems.

## CONCLUSION.

This thesis illuminates a historical view of those factors that have caused the current stalemate in attempts to reform education to include Cameroonian values and to have a common national system. The question that this research addressed is why have Cameroonians resisted all forms of educational reforms and kept so tightly to the inherited colonial systems? It was assumed that Cameroon's unique colonial experience and post-colonial ramifications might explain the deadlock. It was also thought that the resistance to unification of the two inherited systems (British and French) and to the reform of each could not be attributed only to the colonial situation but might also be a result of Cameroonians' perceptions and attitudes to education, developed since the pre-colonial period and amplified by colonial and post-colonial experiences. The predominance of Missionary education during the colonial period was also considered to have had significant impact on inter-group relationships and perceptions of education. Finally, it was considered that the traditional human resistance to change is an important factor to be considered.

To explain how attitudes to education and development were acquired and how they have combined with post-colonial factors to hinder reforms, educational motives and policies of the different colonial regimes and Missions were examined. Some approaches used in analysing colonial situations that emphasize economic, political and psychological determinism were discussed to gain insight into a similar analysis of the Cameroon situation. But in as much as they were inspiring and revealed many convincing factors that must have developed to influence attitudes during the colonial periods, the framework was found to be biased because they emphasized only the colonialists' interests and impact on the colonized. When the interests of the colonized were analyzed, they were viewed with empathy, on the assumption that the latter were always in a subordinate position and never allowed to contribute to educational development. As such, the interests of the colonized were not seen to have influenced the colonial situation. It was assumed that the links established between education and the rest of society were predetermined by the interests of the metropolis while the colonized were the silent oppressed. The role of the colonized in determining the development of the colonial situation was therefore ignored.

This thesis has therefore considered the importance of examining Cameroonian motives in education before, during and after colonial rule to discern how attitudes to education were derived and sustained. While accepting economic, political and psychological determinism as an important basis for understanding the colonial situation, this research suggests that such an analysis can only be useful if a balance is maintained by also analysing the traditional values of the colonized. This conforms with the strategies and orientations proposed by Altbach (1971) for analysing post-colonial problems but further stresses the importance of the economic and political factors.

Whereas earlier studies were based on single situations that evolved common traditions under one colonial regime, the present study is unique because of the varying traditions that were developed under three colonial regimes and a wide range of Christian Missionary cultures.

By examining the respective colonial and Mission education policies the research assessed the impact generated by the respective policies on Cameroonians. The Government's relations with the Missions and Cameroonians were also analyzed to understand the nature of tensions or partnership/connivance in the development of education. By examining the reactions of the Cameroonians, a better understanding of the development of attitudes to education was derived.

The study found that initially, all the colonial regimes had a common interest in education. They wanted to provide education just for the few who were required for services within the European framework. The nature of the services determined the pattern of education. These activities required more literary and humanistic education and less vocational and technical skills.

This explains why literary education prevailed over all forms of education. But literary education was also the predominant system of education in the metropolis. Consequently, the policy of transplantation or assimilation in education could not be blamed for shortsightedness at the time because literary education was regarded as a universal panacea for social, moral and economic ills. Europeans could only offer what they knew and practised. Besides, the authorities found it justifiable to transplant their educational system which because of the perceived moral content was considered



beneficial to Africans. But by so doing, the cultural patterns of traditional societies were implicitly destroyed, largely because many of their essential features prevented traditional people from subordinating social and spiritual imperatives to the short-term economic ends served by participation in the colonial economy. In addition, the employment of educated Africans into the European service enhanced the socio-economic status of the individual and therefore encouraged all others to seek the same type of education. As such all proposed alternatives for adaptation were looked upon with scepticism.

After the Second World War, the emphasis was on widening the scope of primary education and introducing secondary schooling, particularly because of the pressures mounted by the educated elites since the 1930s and during the war. The curricula of secondary education were transferred from the metropolis and the final examinations were conducted from there. Thus, the structure, curriculum, content, and evaluation maintained the same standard with schools in the metropolis.

Cameroonians who graduated from these secondary schools gained respectable positions and became opinion leaders of their people. Hence the premium placed on book learning and the neglect of any other type of education weaned Cameroonians from their traditional education. Parity in the certificate with the European masters implied that they could eventually replace the Europeans and this led many to involve themselves in the decolonisation politics. As representatives of Cameroonians, their contributions to education during self-government were guided by their acquired experiences. Therefore any blame on the colonial regimes for introducing literary education must take cognizance of Cameroonians' contributions to its establishment.

This study also found that the colonial policies especially under France and Britain were adapted from policies developed for other dependencies. Yet for any meaningful educational achievement, any curriculum developed specifically for Cameroon, ought to have considered the multicultural setting. The ethnic diversity, varying from the pygmies and Bantus of the coastal forest through the semi-Bantus and the Sudanic peoples of the savannah to the Semetic and Hamitic groups in the sahelien belt of the extreme north offer a wide range of cultural variations, world views, systems of traditional education and languages that could provide such knowledge based values that could be extracted and incorporated in the educational system. Moreover, whereas the French set out a direct

system of implementation, the British relied on an indirect approach. Both policies failed to share the view that education should aim at ensuring the cultural continuation of the people and transmit knowledge, skills and values from the elders to the young through the school.

The study also identified a similarity in the pattern of geographical distribution of colonial schooling under the respective regimes. Education was largely provided in the coastal region that corresponded with the area with intensive European activities involving Missionary work, European plantation exploitation and a range of commercial activities. The northern region inhabited predominantly by Muslims, hardly received European (Missionary, business people and colonialists) attention. In quantitative terms therefore, there were striking differences in levels of educational diffusion between Muslim and non-Muslim areas.

These variations could further be explained by political and economic reasons. The colonial Governments profited in the Muslim areas from the centralized and highly hierarchical political structures to limit expenditure on extensive administration by establishing indirect rule. This could not be obtainable in the acephalus societies of the coastal region. Additionally, access to the Muslim region was difficult because of the mountainous landscape of the territory. But more importantly, the Muslim area lacked the economic attraction that was central to European interest, and did not offer the Missionaries the opportunity to evangelise. Therefore, economic interests and administrative ease combined with evangelical interest to determine the location, rate and scope of educational diffusion.

Besides the similarities that characterised colonial education, there were specific characteristics that distinguished the impact of the colonial regimes on schooling. Education under the imperial German Government was provided predominantly by the Missions with Government support. The German policy emphasized the importance of western civilisation, the dignity of work, respect and reverence for the German Kaiser and his representatives. The respect and loyalty assigned to the German Kaiser and his representatives imposed the superiority of the Germans over local dignitaries. Since educated Cameroonians were subsequently recognised in their new working status as assistants to the German authorities, the presumption was that their education had elevated

them into power, and so was derived the notion that education is synonymous to power. This explains why some of the teachers abandoned classrooms in pursuit of political careers at decolonization.

In addition, the respect given to the imperial Government inevitably re-enforced the notion that German culture and institutions were superior and could better replace the local culture. This was further strengthened by the Missions whose educational views associated education with the learning of those things which the Missionaries deemed important in their perceptions of the good, pious and economically productive life.

It was also shown that actual direct German education policy was brief (1910 - 1914) and the scope of education was very limited because only about two per cent of the school age population was at school at the eve of the war. Thus German colonial influence on Cameroonian attitudes was inconsequential although the cultural input by the Missions was significant because it fortified Cameroonian perceptions and attitudes. This argument is further supported by the efforts made in sustaining education during the war period by some enthusiasts. Cameroonian speculation for a better and more prosperous post-war period was apparently the motivating factor for the educational activities that were undertaken during the non-Missionary period (1916-1925) because if the efforts of those Cameroonians were purely for religious reasons, then they could have avoided the social conflicts that involved them with their traditional leaders.

This study also found that French colonial education policy was different from that of the Germans and the British and had more profound impact on Cameroonians. From the beginning the French Government vigorously insisted on the diffusion of the French language and culture through education. Emphasis was on French culture, educational certificates and diplomas. These certificates qualified the individual for French citizenship. French was made the only medium of school instruction. The use of French ultimately implied the use of metropolitan educational materials. The French language became the unifying factor for the educated elites and this class of people became identified with proficiency in French and was jealously looked upon by the younger generation as the ultimate goal in education. Therefore the youngsters see reforms as attempts by the elders to stop them from attaining this goal.

French interest for Cameroonian assistants also led to the development of a more literary education, although primary education was combined with agricultural and practical schooling in the period before the Second World War. This was a great deviation from metropolitan curricula and precipitated Cameroonian protests. The establishment of *Écoles Rurales* and *École Primaire Supérieure de Yaounde* with practical curricula based on manual labour and vocational training, which adjusted education to administratively determined political and economic framework contradicted the principle of assimilation which the education system promised. Protest led to the changes that re-established a more literary curriculum. Meanwhile the metropolitan practice of integrating education with economic activities led to the elaboration of secondary vocational training in the post-war era. This was favourably received by Africans because it maintained parity with the metropolitan school system.

To achieve the policy of diffusing French language and culture the regime distinguished itself from the others by operating many direct state schools. At the eve of independence the French Government provided direct state education to 46.18 per cent of the overall total enrolment in all the schools as against less than five per cent by the British and two per cent by the Germans. Therefore, direct French impact was much more deep-seated and widespread. This direct involvement had a deeper inculcation of French culture on those who went through the schooling system.

In addition, the French Government collaborated at the very beginning with the Missions but after establishing a firm hold on the territory, a central control was established over all schools (including Mission schools). The centralized structure and strict state control which was said to avoid disruptions in Mission schools were but a replication of metropolitan practice aimed at consolidating firm Government control following the divorce between the state and the church in France in 1905. The post-colonial Government found it necessary to maintain the system to check against the excesses of education on the regime. This practice contrasted sharply with that of the British.

It was found that the British colonial education policy was peripheral, without any specific interest in Cameroon. British interest focused on Nigeria and, as such, involvement in Cameroon was for the convenience of the administration of Nigeria.

Cameroon was treated as a province of Nigeria. British educational policies in Cameroon were therefore policies developed for Nigeria. But even in Nigeria, the structure, standards and curricula were fragmented until 1926, since all those who were providing education (mostly Missionary societies) had autonomy in taking decisions. The establishment of the Nigerian educational ordinance of 1926 required many adjustments for effective implementation although Government control remained limited. Rather, a community spirit (through Education Committees) was introduced that contrasted with the centralized Government control under the French regime.

The British policy again introduced local initiatives by encouraging the participation of local business corporations in the management and financing of education as well as in the training of labour in the territory. Therefore companies like the Cameroon Development Corporation (C.D.C.), Elders and Fyffes, United African Company (U.A.C.) and Southern Cameroon Development Agency were involved either by operating their own schools or in awarding scholarships. British strategy might have been considered one of aloofness aimed at minimizing expenditure but it left Cameroonians with a cherished attitude of involvement in their educational matters compared with the French system that imposed strict state control. These opposing attitudes conflicted in the post-colonial era to produce the current educational deadlock.

The British regime also introduced the Native Authority school system that helped to involve Cameroonians in the provision and the management of schools; an experience that has become invaluable in the post-colonial era for solving school problems. Even more significantly, the regime delegated education almost entirely to the Missions. Throughout the colonial rule, there were only five Government primary schools, one teacher training institution and one trade centre. The freedom accorded to the respective Missions to educate and evangelise at will differed from the French system. By involving the entire community to support the Mission schools alongside the local christians the British regime further strengthened communal cooperation between christians and non-christians in matters of education. This further explains the development of the collaborative attitude that is currently manifested in the efforts of the Parent Teachers Associations and contrast with the French system.

The 1926 Nigerian ordinance prescribed an educational system that was adaptationist and avoided book learning. This encouraged the establishment of infant schooling. It was also reinforced by the 1935 memorandum on mass education. But Cameroonian educated elites protested against this pattern of education and opted not just for mass education but also for more literary education involving secondary schooling. Post-war education improved on the pattern as many more full primary schools were opened to replace the vernacular and infant schools. Secondary education was introduced but it was almost wholly metropolitan in theory and practice.

This study found that the Missions in general and the Basel Mission, in particular, were actively involved in the provision of education under all the colonial regimes but that Government-Mission relations in education varied with the regimes. The British were tolerant to the Missions while the French were strict and controlled their activities. These differences could be explained by the state-church relations in the respective countries. However the differences between the French and British treatment of the Missions left noticeable differences in the attitudes of their educated subjects that remain visible in post-colonial period.

The relationships between the Missions and the respective regimes also influenced the behaviour and perceptions of their adherents. For example, Government tolerance and encouragement of Mission predominance in education under the British regime conditioned most Anglophones to believe that the best education can only be obtained from a church related school. On the contrary, the emphasis on state schools under the French regime led Francophones to believe that education other than in a *Lycée* was incomplete. The inhibiting role of these contradictory opinions on the establishment of an agreed common education system for all Cameroonians cannot be underestimated.

It was also noted that Missionary societies served as stabilisers in the relations between Cameroonian societies and the colonial Governments especially under the Germans and the British regimes. At certain times Missionaries acted as the defenders and even as representatives of the people against Government oppression and urged the Government to amend or change unpopular policies. At other times, they intervened to encourage the achievement of Government policies especially in education. That

moderating influence no longer exist because, under the present circumstance the local churches that replaced the Missions are not allowed to intervene on policy issues.

The specific study of the Basel Mission education further indicates that Mission education under the Germans and the British regimes was virtually autonomous. The Missions developed their own school structures and curricula at some stages and even when the Government's own were made available, they still had the liberty to adapt the prescribed structures to suit their objectives. But post-colonial education especially since 1972 has been strictly centralized and intolerant of church concerns. This practice contradicts with the values derived by those who went through the British liberal system.

It was also found from the Basel Mission case that the respective regimes were not always tolerant to Missionary societies originating from other nations, but that some were more tolerant than others depending on their imperial interests and the relations with the country of the Mission. The differences in policies ensuing from the changing regimes and changing Missionary societies, developed different understanding and varied attitudes to education among Cameroonians, which the post-colonial Government is finding difficult to harmonise.

It was also revealed from the study of the Basel Mission that the German regime discriminated between religious denominations because of imperial interest. Since the imperial Government's relations with the Catholic party in Germany were strained at the time of the annexation, the Government was initially reluctant to allow the Catholics in Cameroon. These discriminations might have solved Government's instant problems, but they had long term effects on the attitudes of Cameroonian adherents of the respective denominations in that bias and prejudices developed between the denominations. These disagreements have contributed to the lack of unanimity of post-colonial church leaders on educational issues and impeded educational restructuring.

The Basel Mission study further revealed that the British Government was initially suspicious of all the German Missions after the First World War. This resulted in a decade of non-Missionary activity in Cameroon. The social disruption and the deterioration of educational structures as well as the decline in education during that period had a

considerable impact on the territory under Britain as compared to the area under the French where education continued almost uninterrupted.

The survival of the Basel Mission after the Second World War was found to have been due to the Mission's relationship with Switzerland that was a neutral country during the war. All German Missionaries were exiled and only the Swiss Missionaries continued from 1940. This slowed the efforts of the Basel Mission education in the post-war years. The ability to survive under the British regime was also seen to be a result of the earlier relationship of the Mission with British colonial administration. The Basel Mission had operated under the British in India and in Ghana and left good impressions on the British colonial administrators. This good relationship enhanced the survival of the Mission even during moments of international hatred between Britain and Germany.

The Basel Mission also stayed for the entire period of the colonial rule because of the ability of the Mission to adjust under changing regimes. It is possible that if the French had not refused them in their own area of the territory, they could have been even more successful because of the advantage of using the Swiss Missionaries from the French speaking cantons of Switzerland. And if they operated in the French zone during the same period, their educational system could have possibly supplied a common cultural factor on which both Anglophones and Francophones could agree.

The survival of the Basel Mission under the different regimes also demonstrated that there was a strong support from the Cameroon population as evidenced during the war periods when Cameroonian adherents readily came to their support. The support or collaboration resulted from acquired ethical convictions of the evangelical teaching but more importantly from Cameroonians' determination to exploit Mission education for their personal interests. Cameroonians also appreciated the support they had from the Mission during periods of oppression especially under the Germans. These factors became more articulated during the post-Missionary period and have added to the complexity of the disagreement that confront current attempts to reform.

It is therefore evident that Mission autonomy under the British rule guaranteed a wider and deeper Mission influence on the anglophones. Most of the anglophone leaders at independence were either Mission teachers or pastors. These people were inevitably



more ingrained with christian values than their francophone counterparts. They would not therefore tolerate any reforms that excluded religious instruction. On the contrary, the strict Government control under the French excluded religious instruction from the official curricula. Thus, two distinct and conflicting views were developed about religious instruction as a school subject. These differences have contributed to the disagreement on harmonising the two educational systems.

It was noticed that the primary objective of the Missions was not education. Their focus was on evangelisation but they could only attract Cameroonian attention through the provision of education since Cameroonian interest was not in religion but in education. After receiving the required academic certificate or diploma, the interest in christian religion often gave way to the search for socio-economic welfare as the graduates sought for employment with the Government or in the private sectors where financial remunerations were often more attractive than in the Missions. Except for the most committed people, most Cameroonians would only work with the Mission as a last resort. Institutions established specifically for evangelisation such as seminaries and evangelist schools were often boycotted for those of a more academic nature. Thus there was not as much of religion derived from Mission education as it might be imagined.

Meanwhile, those Cameroonians who were influenced by both the religion and the education, tended to become defensive and protective of their particular denomination. The denominational inclination sometimes had severe consequences on the society as people became divided into disagreeable denominational groups. A further dimension was the disagreement between the christians and diehard traditional believers who found in christianity a source of destruction of the African cultures. They decried Mission education and its accompanying religion for introducing disrespect of elders, traditional institutions, customs and animosity between different religious believers. There were also inter-religious conflicts between Islam and christianity. These disagreements and differences shaped Cameroonian attitudes towards education and invariably contributed to the varying shades of opinions on education which post-colonial Government is finding difficult to reconcile.

The study of Cameroonian reactions to colonial and Missionary education showed that even before colonisation, Cameroonians had already formed a clear opinion of

European education. The coastal people and those in the hinterland made persistent requests for the establishment of schools which illustrate genuine and un-influenced motivation because at the time the German regime was not yet established in the region.

The general involvement of Cameroon rulers in particular, with the request for schools also suggest the possibility that they found in education, a means to consolidate power. Evidence can be found in the Fons of Bali and Bamoun who did not hesitate to enrol themselves and their children as pupils of the first schools in their kingdoms. They also realized the value of having enlightened people in their kingdoms and this is shown by their active participation in the establishment of the first schools and in the recruitment of pupils from near and far.

This research also noted that Cameroonians reacted against the adaptationist policies of all the colonial regimes. These reactions were intended to manifest their own understanding of education. They demonstrated their desires in two ways. Firstly, that they wanted parity with the educational system in the metropolis. Secondly, they wanted more schools so that many more people could be educated. These interests were not adequately addressed by the missionaries and the colonial administrators.

Finally, it was found that after gaining autonomy, solutions to the problem of having more schools and increasing enrolment were applied. Although the independent Government seem finally to have understood the need for reforming or *Africanising* education, resistance persisted because of the derived attitudes. One of the questions asked by students and parents has always been to know if the reformed standard will be accepted by London/Paris and if the certificates will have international recognition. This is an indication that the desire for parity in educational standard with the former metropolis is still upheld.

Yet changes consistent with those in the former metropolis are also resisted. It is therefore also plausible to argue that the resistance to reform is intrinsically identified with the traditional conservatism associated with humans' general unwillingness to change. Ultimately, reform is more about people than about policies, institutions and processes. And since most people tend to change slowly when it comes to attitudes, beliefs and ways of doing things, teachers, students and parents are sceptical about any changes and rely

on their acquired views and experiences. Any attempt to change such views must be accompanied by clearly stated alternatives to which they are also committed. This explains the resistance to reforms better than the notion that resistance is because of continuous dependence on former metropolitan systems. After all, attempts to reform following current changes in Britain and France have also been resisted. In 1983, a proposed group certificate examination system, similar to the English G.C.S.E. to replace the examination system based on London G.C.E. was rejected. Attempts to drop the *Probatoire* examination in the Francophone system, as in France, have also been resisted. It is therefore evident that the forces against change cannot be explained only by continued dependence on former colonial rulers.

This study also noted that the over centralization and direct Government control of education has rendered post-colonial educational restructuring more bureaucratic and excluded grass-root consultation. Those involved in planning reforms are only the inspectors and "policy makers" in the Ministry of National Education. Occasionally, a few members of the provincial services are informed of the reform processes but hardly are their opinions considered. Teachers and parents are not consulted. Nor are there any efforts to educate the public about the need for change. Thus school reforms imposed from above on teachers and parents cannot escape protest. If teachers are not convinced of the merit of the proposed changes, they are unlikely to implement them energetically. If they are not sufficiently prepared to introduce new control and ways of teaching, the reform measures will inevitably founder. This is one major reason accounting for the failure of reforms.

But although teachers and parents are central to school reforms, all other educational experts responsible for writing textbooks, developing curriculum and sensible testing policies should also be co-opted. The support of community leaders and business people should be considered necessary to reinforce parents convictions about the proposed alternatives. In other words, educational reform must be seen as a shared responsibility, which means that the entire nation must be educated to see the need for change. These measures have never been undertaken in Cameroon.

Another weakness in the Cameroon reform approach has been identified by this study to be the piecemeal approach taken to bring change. Quick fixes rarely succeed in

education. Attempts in the past to reform secondary or primary education in isolation without considering them as components of one educational system proved less demanding but less related in terms of the continuity of the curricula. For example, the IPAR project which aimed at reforming the primary school curriculum failed to consider the need for change in teacher training. Similarly, the American Support to Primary Schools project was concerned with the retraining of teachers but did not consider the curricula that were already fragmented, outdated and overburdened. And the ODA/British Council INSET project for anglophone Cameroon secondary school mathematics, physics and English language neither considered implications of the link with the primary curriculum nor the relations with other subjects on the curriculum. Comprehensive reform should address all aspects of the system. It must also consider the preparation of teachers, content of textbooks and other learning materials, the use of technologies, the nature of testing and the organisation of schools. However, comprehensive reform does not necessarily imply immediate total reform. It demands a careful systematic planning for a step by step action and also a careful deployment of resources based on well thought out priorities. Comprehensive reform should also consider every strand of schooling, both vocational and general.

Political, economic and cultural developments in post-independent Cameroon also contributed to the difficulties of effecting meaningful change in the educational system. At independence, many aid agencies and developed nations offered diverse financial assistance to Cameroon. Investment in education focused attention more on the expansion of schooling facilities in conformity with UNESCO advice on mass education and the people's understanding that education is a solution to development.

The political climate at that early stage of independence was also one which <sup>allowed</sup> both sectors of the Federation to develop independently. As such they evolved no common cultural concept for a common national identity. English and French languages became the liaison for the respective groups. The traditional ethnic and cultural diversities in both zones became subsumed within the cultures of these two official language groups. Thus two cultural groups developed and re-enforced common identities through the educational cultures of the respective systems. They developed distinct common values and attitudes respectively. These developments added to the acquired values derived from the colonial masters to widen the differences between the two groups. It is possible that if attempts

were made to evolve a common cultural concept, such as *Ujaama* in Tanzania, whereby both the Anglophones and the Francophones could identify themselves as people of the same nation, then reforms based on that notion could have been more easily acceptable.

The post-colonial relations between Cameroon and the former colonial rulers have also impeded reforms. After independence, France particularly maintained good relationship with Cameroon and offered assistance to Cameroon education through the supply of educational experts and finance. The predominance of French experts (*corperain*) in the Ministry of Education and in all levels of Cameroon schools sustained French influence in Cameroon education. These experts were usually actively involved in elaborating the projects for reforms and naturally their proposals reflect the French educational system. Such reforms were supported by parents of students aspiring to study in France because the Government still considered French certificates and diplomas as the measurement on which all other certificates have to be equated. Therefore post-colonial relations have strengthened French influence.

Cameroon also became a member of French speaking African states at independence and shared in the formulation of policies relating to the economic and cultural developments of the francophone African region that are often coordinated by France. Cameroon currency like that of the other members of the francophone community is tied to the French franc. Its value therefore depends on the French franc. This dependence subsumes Cameroon and the other Francophone states sharing the same currency to a common economic control. Thus, because of the relationship between education and economy, it is impossible to rule out French interests in any educational reform in Cameroon. A recent example was the devaluation of December 1993, which had enormous impact on Cameroon economy and seriously affected individual incomes as salaries were reduced by more than 50 per cent and redundancy reached a historic level. Many students had to drop out of schools because of their inability to pay school fees. Under such an economic difficulty, attempts to reform will hardly be accepted.

Furthermore, the association of Cameroon with the other Francophone African countries led to joint participation in discussions on issues of development such as education. In 1966, the conference of ministers of education in all Francophone African states held in Dakar revised the secondary school curriculum. A common school structure

and syllabuses were developed for all the countries including Cameroon. Based on this new structure, common textbooks and teaching materials were developed in France for the entire Francophone region. While such collaboration encouraged regional cooperation, evidently the uniqueness of Cameroon with two educational systems was ignored. The application of the curriculum in the Francophone zone of the country further perpetuated the distinction between the two linguistic groups and placed any hope of harmonising the two systems into jeopardy.

In conclusion, this study has shown that no single factor can be blamed for the current stalemate in Cameroon educational reform. Cameroonian attitudes and perceptions of education derived since pre-colonial relations with Europeans and reinforced by Missionary and colonial educational provisions have contributed significantly to the current deadlock. The several changes in colonial regimes and Missions developed varying attitudes to education and obstructed the development of a consistent education system.

The multiculturalism of Cameroon society and the wide range of ethnic diversity that failed to develop the concept of nation-state during colonial rule makes it difficult for the Government to find a common ground on which education reform can be based. The peripheral system of colonial administration inhibited the possibility of developing a common ground on which the integration of national institutions can be achieved. Furthermore, the post-colonial relations of Cameroon with France in particular and with francophone African states in general, have strengthened the differences between the inherited legacies of the French and the British to render reforms difficult. The absence of a political visionary, conscious of the socio-cultural diversity, aware of the wide range of intervening factors that militate against the achievement of national unity and determined to restructure the institutions of state has exacerbated the problem of reforms. Finally, reforms have remained largely a bureaucratic monopoly and neither the masses have been educated in the desirability of reforms nor have the opinions of the grassroots been sought.

It is therefore clear that for any effective and meaningful reform to be undertaken, the Government should educate the population on the need for change. This should establish an awareness of the weaknesses of the present educational system (systems) and create a desire for a new system.

It is also argued that for an education system that will have Cameroonian values, a national education philosophy must be developed that will take cognizance of the diversity of the wide variety of Cameroon cultures. In this relation, the need for the inclusion of national languages becomes very important.

Thus an overall comprehensive reform project should be established. From the master plan different sections can then be considered for change at different times. This will allow room for evaluation of the different aspects of reforms and enhance accountability. It will also avoid the problem of repeating the reform project many times over.

Finally, while the central control that is presently in practice is good because it can enhance uniformity and equity, it is clearly advantageous to democratise the educational system. There should be decentralization so that provincial services and local communities can be much more committed to the provision of education in their environments. This will enhance commitment and enable people to understand the need for reform in the educational system.

Admittedly, much has been written about Cameroon education, but this research has made a special contribution by explaining the current educational problems from their origins. This has been done by providing an overview in comparative contemporary and historical perspectives. Thus besides arguing that more than one factor is responsible for the present predicament, this thesis has enriched the social history of the period by contributing towards a better understanding of the history of education in Cameroon during the period and the efforts made by the Basel Mission. Further research aimed at analysing the attitude or behaviour of Cameroonians to education would enhance our understanding of the current problems. It is also essential that research should be carried out on the wide variety of Cameroon cultures to identify those aspects that should be generalised to establish common values. In this way the current stalemate could be ended and the education of all Cameroonians could be made more accessible, more relevant to their needs and more successful.

APPENDIX 1  
COLONIAL SYSTEMS OF EDUCATION

THE GERMAN EDUCATION SYSTEM.

Type of School	Course
Mission Vernacular School	Bush School in vernacular; 2 - 3 years.
German School	Elementary School; 3 years.
German School	Higher Elementary; 2 years.
Vocational and Professional	Post-Primary Course; 2 - 3 years.

THE FRENCH SCHOOL SYSTEM DURING THE MANDATE

Type of school.	Duration.
Village or Rural school.	3 years.
Vocational Schooling	1 - 3 years.
Regional Schools.	3 years.
Higher Primary School.	3 years.

THE BRITISH SYSTEM DURING THE MANDATE.

Type of School.	Duration.
Vernacular or Bush school.	2 - 3 years.
Infant Department.	2 years.
Elementary Department.	4 years.
Senior Primary Department	2 years.
Middle School / Secondary School.	6 Years.
Teacher Training.	Elementary teachers; 2 - 3 years.



**APPENDIX 2**  
**EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS SINCE REUNIFICATION:**

Age	Anglophone		Francophone
	<u>Before 1964</u>	<u>After 1964</u>	
4	Nursery 1	Nursery 1	Maternel 1
5	Nursery 2	Nursery 2	Maternel 2
6	Infant 1	Class 1	cours d' initiation
7	Infant 2	Class 2	Cours préparatoire
8	Standard 1	Class 3	Cours élémentaire 1
9	Standard 2	Class 4	Cours élémentaire 2
10	Standard 3	Class 5	Cours moyen 1
11	Standard 4	Class 6	<u>Cours moyen 2 : CEPE</u>
12	Standard 5	<u>Class 7:FSLC</u>	Sixième
13	<u>Standard 6</u>	Form 1	Cinquième
14	Form 1	Form 2	Quatrième
15	Form 2	Form 3	<u>Troisième BEPC/ CAP.</u>
16	Form 3	Form 4	Seconde
17	Form 4	<u>Form 5 GCE. O/L</u>	<u>Première PROBATOIRE</u>
18	<u>Form 5</u>	Lower 6	<u>Terminale BACC</u>
19	Lower 6	<u>Upper 6 GCE. A/L.</u>	University / Professional
20	<u>Upper 6</u>	University/ Professional Schools.	-
21	University.	-	-

### APPENDIX 3

#### CHRONOLOGY OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN CAMEROON.

- 1844 Opening of the first school by the British Baptist Missionary Society at Bimbia by Joseph Merrick.
- 1845 Opening of the second school by the same mission at Bethel by Alfred Saker.
- 1851 Opening of the first Teacher/Catechist training centre by the same mission.
- 1885 Arrival of the American Presbyterian Mission.
- 1886 Arrival of the Basel Mission.
- 1887 Appointment of the first Government teacher-Theodor Christaller.
- 1888 Opening of the first Government school in Douala.
- 1889 Basel Mission opens the first girls school.
- 1889 Establishment of Basel Mission Teacher/Catechists training centre.
- 1890 Arrival of the Roman Catholic Mission - the Pallotine Fathers.
- 1891 Opening of the first catholic school.
- 1891 Arrival of the German Baptist Mission.
- 1892 The establishment of the first curriculum for government schools.
- 1903 The establishment of the first school in the Grassfield at Bali by the Basel Mission.
- 1906 Opening of the first government school in North Cameroon at Garoua.
- 1907 The first government conference on education at Douala by Governor Seitz.
- 1907 Opening of the first Catholic Mission seminary at Sasse for teacher/catechist training.
- 1910 The first Government education policy on education establishing government control over all education provided in the territory.
- 1910 Government grants based on school performance in German language examination.
- 1911 Compulsory government curriculum for all schools.
- 1911 The attachment of government subsidies to mission schools to success in Government designed German language.
- 1912 Arrival of Sacred Heart Mission (Catholic).
- 1913 The establishment of the first Catholic school in the Grassfield at Shisong.
- 1914 The First World War and closure of schools.
- 1916 End of war in Cameroon. The Government and opening of mission schools in French Cameroon by Aymerich.

- 1916 Arrival of French Holy Ghost Mission in French Cameroon.
- 1917 Arrival of Paris Evangelical Mission in French Cameroon.
- 1917 Reopening of schools in the British sector.
- 1918 30 Government schools opened in nine administrative districts in French Cameroon.
- 1920 Reactivation of Native Baptist Church.
- 1920 Arrêté regulating private schools in French Cameroon.
- 1921 The High Primary School (École Supérieure) opened in Yaounde.
- 1921 Fees introduced in schools in British Cameroon. First inspection of schools with gloomy report.
- 1922 Arrival of Mill Hill Mission, ( St. Joseph's Missionary Society).  
Creation of 10 Native Authority (N.A.) schools.
- 1922 Vocational education introduced in regional schools in French Cameroon.
- 1923 Mill Hill opened a higher elementary at Sasse.
- 1924 Arrêté revising policy for grants to mission schools in the French sector.
- 1925 Return of Basel Mission to British Cameroon and the reopening of their schools.
- 1925 The return of German plantation owners and business people.
- 1925 Opening of Government secondary school / Teachers Training Centre at Victoria.
- 1926 The Nigerian Education Ordinance of 1926 for implementation in British Cameroon.
- 1926 Return of the German Baptist Mission to British Cameroon.
- 1926 Transfer of Teachers Training Centre from Victoria to Buea.
- 1926 Arrival of Seventh Day Adventist Mission in French Cameroon.
- 1927 Revival of Baptist Mission education in British Cameroon.
- 1927 Opening of Catholic Girl's school at Bojongo.
- 1931 Implementation/adaptation of Nigerian Education Department Regulations in British Cameroon.
- 1931 Buea Teacher's Training Centre transferred to Kake, near Kumba.
- 1931 Basel Mission Girls elementary school started at Victoria.
- 1933 Special access to chiefs children in schools in French Cameroon.
- 1934 Ayos Nursing School becomes more academic.
- 1936 Joint protestant teacher training school in Foulassi.
- 1937 Higher elementary school at Njinikom by the Catholic Mission.
- 1938 Higher elementary school at Soppo by the Baptist Mission.

- 1938 Five Year Plan for building new primary schools in British Cameroon.
- 1938 The publication of "Cameroons Chronicle".
- 1939 Opening of the first secondary school in British Cameroon at Sasse by the Catholic Mission.
- 1939 Village schools in French Cameroon became Rural schools.
- 1939 Beginning of the Second World War and the climax of jingoistic warfare between the Germans and the administering regimes in Cameroon.
- 1940 Detention and eventual expulsion of all missionaries (teachers and school administrators inclusive) of German nationality.
- 1944 Teacher Training Centre transferred from Kake to Kumba.
- 1944 Visit of the Elliot commission to promote secondary and higher education.
- 1944 Opening of a Government secondary school in Yaounde for Europeans.
- 1944 Brazaville Conference.
- 1944 One year teachers training at Nyasoso by the Basel Mission.
- 1945 Fulani school opened at Jakiri.
- 1946 The Yaounde Government Secondary School which eventually became Lycée Leclerc opened to Cameroonians and people of all races.
- 1946 Catholic teachers training centre opened at Makak.
- 1947 Opening of mission Teachers Training Centres at Bambui (Catholics), at Bali (Basel Mission, transferred in 1949 to Batibo).
- 1947 British postwar colonial education policy in Nigerian Sessional Paper No.2. Free primary school of two cycles of four years each declared.
- 1947 Arrêté on education policy reform in French Cameroon.
- 1947 First lay private school opened at Nkol-Ossanaga.
- 1949 First Women Teachers Training Centre in British Cameroon at Fiango in Kumba by the Catholic Mission.
- 1949 The opening of the first secondary school in the Grassfield at Bali by the Basel Mission.
- 1951 G.C.E. replaces Matriculation Examinations in Britain, but the Cambridge Overseas Examinations Syndicate continues with school certificate examinations.
- 1952 Recommendations received on syllabus of secondary schools.
- 1952 Opening of the Government Technical college at Ombe.
- 1954 The achievement of regional status for Southern Cameroons and therefore attainment of autonomy for the first time over education and no more depending

on Nigeria.

- 1954 Opening of Bambui rural education centre.
- 1954 Southern Cameroons Government disallowed departures to Nigerian secondary schools because of the political misunderstanding started in 1953.
- 1955 The Baptists established an elementary school at Great Soppo.
- 1956 The first Girls Secondary school was opened at Okoyong by the Catholic Mission.
- 1956 The Catholic Mission opened a Teacher's Training Centre at Bojongo.
- 1956 The Government ruled that teaching in vernacular should not be allowed except when more than 66.6 per cent of the pupils speak the local language.
- 1957 The West African School Certificate Examination replaced the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Examination in British Cameroon.
- 1957 Teacher's Training Centre opened in Tatum by the Catholic Mission.
- 1957 Basel Mission hands over all activities (evangelical) except Education and Medical duties to an independent church, the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon.
- 1958 Bali and Douala languages demoted in favour of mother tongues.
- 1960 Independence for French Cameroon which became Republique du Cameroun.
- 1960 Southern Cameroon Government abolishes vernacular teaching in primary schools.
- 1960 The National School of Agriculture (ENSA) opened in Nkolbissong in Yaounde.
- 1960 Opening of the Protestant Faculty of Theology in Yaounde.
- 1961 Reunification of former French Cameroon with former British Southern Cameroon into a Federation where British Cameroon became West Cameroon while the former became East Cameroon.
- 1961 Reorganisation of education; the Ministry of National Education, Youth and culture remains at Yaounde, while the Secretariat of Education is established in Buea.
- 1961 A Presidential decree creates a National Institute of University Studies preparing for external examinations of French Universities.
- 1961 A Women Teacher's Training College is open in Bamenda by the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon/Basel Mission.
- 1961 Ecole Normale Supérieure (E.N.S.) opened in Yaounde for the training of Secondary School Teachers.
- 1962 Opening of the first university-University of Yaounde.
- 1962 Financial autonomy granted the university by Federal Law No. 62/DF/22 of 21 November 1962.
- 1962 A coeducational Teachers Training College opened at Mutengene by the Catholic

Mission.

- 1962 The second Girl's Secondary School opened in Victoria by the Baptist Mission.
- 1963 The first national law aimed at unifying the two systems of education- Law No. 63/DF/13 of 19 June 1963.
- 1963 Opening of Cameroon College of Arts, Science and Technology at Kumba as the first government institution in the Anglophone zone.
- 1963 The first Bilingual secondary school in the country opened temporary at Man O' War Bay in Victoria before being transferee to Molyko in Buea.
- 1963 A West Cameroon Education Policy Paper on the entire educational system.
- 1963 Opening of more secondary schools-
  - Our Lady of Lourdes Secondary School, Mankon by the Catholic Mission.
  - St. Bedes Secondary School, Njinikom, by the Catholic Mission.
  - Presbyterian Secondary School, Kumba, by the Presbyterian Church/Basel Mission.
  - Joseph Merick Secondary School, Ndu.
- 1963 Opening of Teacher's Training College at Nyasoso by the Presbyterian Church/Basel Mission.
- 1963 Opening of Teachers Training Centre at Nchang by the Catholic Mission.
- 1964 Federal Law No. 64/DF/11 of 26 June 1964 regulating the provision of private lay secondary and technical colleges in Cameroon.
- 1964 East Cameroon Law No. 64/COR/3 of 9 June 1964 controlling the operation of private primary schools in East Cameroon.
- 1964 London G.C.E. replaces West African School Examination in Cameroon.
- 1964 Anglophone school year changed to agree with the Francophone school year.
- 1964 Opening of St. Augustine's Secondary School, Kumbo and Bishop Rogan Secondary School, Small Soppo, by the Catholic Mission.
- 1964 Opening of Presbyterian Secondary School, Besongabang by the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon/Basel Mission.
- 1964 Cameroon Development Corporation (C.D.C.) hands over their thirteen primary schools to the local Councils.
- 1964 Cameroon's College of Arts, Science and Technology transferred from Kumba to Bambili.
- 1964 The first nursery school opened in West Cameroon by Catholic Women Association.

- 1965 Introduction of West Cameroon education rating scheme aimed at making the first four years of schooling free.
- 1965 Anglophone school year brought down from eight years to seven years to eventually cut down to six years in response to harmonisation of the two systems as contained in Federal Law No. 63/DF/13 of 19 June 1963 mentioned above.
- 1965 Teacher Training Centre opened at Njinikom by the Catholic Mission.
- 1966 Meeting of the Higher Council of National Education presided by the Vice President of the Federal Republic proposed the name of C.G.E. (Certificate of General Education) for certificates marking the end of secondary school, course following the harmonisation.
- 1966 Basel Mission hands over all educational activities in Cameroon to the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon.

**APPENDIX 4**  
**LEAGUE OF NATIONS MANDATE**  
**(THE BRITISH MANDATE FOR THE CAMEROONS)**

The Council of the League of Nations:

Whereas by Article 119 of the Treaty of Peace with Germany signed at Versailles on June 28th, 1919, Germany renounced in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights over her overseas possessions, including therein the Cameroons; and

Whereas the Principal Allied and Associated Powers agreed that the Governments of France and Great Britain should make a joint recommendation to the League of Nations as to the future of the said territory; and; Whereas the Governments of France and Great Britain have made a joint recommendation to the Council of the League of Nations that a mandate to administer in accordance with Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations that part of the Cameroons lying to the west of the line agreed upon in the Declaration of July 10th, 1919, referred to in Article 1, should be conferred upon His Britannic Majesty; and; Whereas the Governments of France and Great Britain have proposed that the mandate should be formulated in the following terms; and; Whereas His Britannic Majesty has agreed to accept the mandate in respect of the said territory, and has undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations in accordance with the following provisions;

Confirming the said mandate, defines its terms as follows:

**Article 1**

The territory for which a mandate is conferred upon His Britannic Majesty comprises that part of the Cameroons which lies to the west of the line laid down in the Declaration signed on July 10th, 1919, of which a copy is annexed hereto.

This line may, therefore, be slightly modified by mutual agreement between His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of the French Republic where an examination of the localities shows that it is undesirable, either in the interests of the inhabitants or by reason of any inaccuracies in the map, Moisel 1: 300,000, annexed to the Declaration, to adhere strictly to the line laid down therein.

The delimitation on the spot of this line shall be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the said Declaration.

The final report of the Mixed Commission shall give the exact description of the boundary



line as traced on the spot; maps signed by the Commissioners shall be annexed to the report. This report with its annexes shall be drawn up in triplicate: one of these shall be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations, one shall be kept by His Britannic Majesty's Government, and one by the Government of the French Republic.

## Article 2

The Mandatory shall be responsible for the peace, order and good government of the territory, and for the promotion to the utmost of the material and moral well-being and the social progress of its inhabitants.

## Article 3

The Mandatory shall not establish in the territory any military or naval bases, nor erect any fortifications, nor organise any native military force except for local police purposes and for the defence of the territory.

## Article 4

The Mandatory:

- (1) shall provide for the eventual emancipation of all slaves, and for as speedy an elimination of domestic and other slavery as social conditions will allow;
- (2) shall suppress all forms of slave trade;
- (3) shall prohibit all forms of forced or compulsory labour, except for essential public works and services, and then only in return for adequate remuneration;
- (4) shall protect the natives from abuse and measures of fraud and force by the careful supervision of labour contracts and the recruiting of labour;
- (5) shall exercise a strict control over the traffic in arms and ammunition and the sale of spirituous liquors.

## Article 5

In the framing of laws relating to the holding or transfer of land, the Mandatory shall take into consideration native laws and customs, and shall respect the rights and safeguard the interests of the native population.

No native land may be transferred, except between natives, without the previous consent of the public authorities, and no real rights over native land in favour of non-natives may be created except with the same consent.

The Mandatory shall promulgate strict regulations against usury.

#### Article 6

The Mandatory shall secure to all nationals of States Members of the League of Nations the same rights as are enjoyed in the territory by his own nationals in respect of entry into and residence in the territory, the protection afforded to their person and property, and acquisition of property, movable and immovable, and the exercise of their profession or trade, subject only to the requirements of public order, and on condition of compliance with the local law.

Further, the Mandatory shall ensure to all nationals of States Members of the League of Nations on the same footing as to his own nationals, freedom of transit and navigation, and complete economic, commercial and industrial equality; except that the Mandatory shall be free to organise essential public works and services on such terms and conditions as he thinks just.

Concessions for the development of the natural resources of the territory shall be granted by the Mandatory without distinction on grounds of nationality between the nationals of all States Members of the League of Nations, but on such conditions as will maintain intact the authority of the local Government.

Concessions having the character of a general monopoly shall not be granted. This provision does not affect the right of the Mandatory to create monopolies of a purely fiscal character in the interest of the territory under mandate and in order to provide the territory with fiscal resources which seem best suited to the local requirements; or, in certain cases, to carry out the development of natural resources, either directly by the State or by a controlled agency, provided that there shall result there from no monopoly of the natural resources for the benefit of the Mandatory or his nationals, directly or indirectly, nor any preferential advantage which shall be inconsistent with the economic, commercial and industrial equality hereinbefore guaranteed.

The rights conferred by this article extend equally to companies and associations organised in accordance with the law of any of the Members of the League of Nations, subject only to the requirements of public order, and on condition of compliance with the local law

#### Article 7

The Mandatory shall ensure in the territory complete freedom of conscience and the free

exercise of all forms of worship which are consonant with public order and morality; missionaries who are nationals of States Members of the League of Nations shall be free to enter the territory and to travel and reside therein, to acquire and possess property, to erect religious buildings and to open schools throughout the territory; it being understood, however, that the Mandatory shall have the right to exercise such control as may be necessary for the maintenance of public order and good government, and to take all measures required for such control.

#### Article 8

The Mandatory shall apply to the territory any general international conventions applicable to his contiguous territory.

#### Article 9

The Mandatory shall have full powers of administration and legislation in the area subject to the mandate. This area shall be administered in accordance with the laws of the Mandatory as an integral part of his territory and subject to the above provisions.

The Mandatory shall therefore be at liberty to apply his laws to the territory under the mandate subject to the modifications required by local conditions, and to constitute the territory into a customs, fiscal or administrative union or federation with the adjacent territories under his sovereignty or control, provided always that the measures adopted to that end do not infringe the provisions of this mandate.

#### Article 10

The Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council, containing full information concerning the measures taken to apply the provisions of this mandate.

#### Article 11

The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this mandate.

#### Article 12

The Mandatory agrees that, if any dispute whatever should arise between the Mandatory and another Member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or

the application of the provisions of the mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The present instrument shall be deposited in original in the archives of the League of Nations. Certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all Members of the League.

Done at London, the twentieth day of July one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

### THE FRENCH MANDATE FOR CAMEROON

*MANDATE for the administration of Part of the former German Territory of the Cameroons conferred upon the Government of the French Republic, confirmed and defined by the Council of the League of Nations; London, July 20, 1922.*

The Council of the League of Nations:

Whereas by Article 119 of the Treaty of Peace with Germany, signed at Versailles on the 28th June, 1919, Germany renounced in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights over her overseas possessions, including therein the Cameroons; and Whereas the Principal Allied and Associated Powers agreed that the Governments of France and Great Britain should make a joint recommendation to the League of Nations as to the future of the said territory; and

Whereas the Governments of France and Great Britain have made a joint recommendation to the Council of the League of Nations that a mandate to administer, in accordance with Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, that part of the Cameroons lying to the east of the line agreed upon in the Declaration of the 10th July, 1919, of which mention is made in Article 1 below, should be conferred upon the French Republic; and Whereas the Governments of France and Great Britain have proposed that the mandate should be formulated in the following terms; and

Whereas the French Republic has agreed to accept the mandate in respect of the said territory, and has undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations:

Confirming the said mandate, defines its terms as follows:

*Article 1.* The territory for which a mandate is conferred upon France comprises that part of the Cameroons which lies to the east of the line laid down in the Declaration signed on the 10th July, 1919, of which a copy is annexed hereto.

This line may, however, be slightly modified by mutual agreement between His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of the French Republic where an examination of the localities shows that it is undesirable, either in the interests of the inhabitants or by reason of any inaccuracies in the map, Moisel 1: 300,000, annexed to the Declaration, to adhere strictly to the line laid down therein.

The delimitation on the spot of this line shall be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the said Declaration.

The final report of the Mixed Commission shall give the exact description of the boundary line as traced on the spot; maps signed by the Commissioners shall be annexed to the report. This report, with its annexes, shall be drawn up in triplicate; one of these shall be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations, one shall be kept by the Government of the Republic and one by His Britannic Majesty's Government.

2. The Mandatory shall be responsible for the peace, order and good government of the territory and for the promotion to the utmost of the material and moral well-being and the social progress of its inhabitants.

3. The Mandatory shall not establish in the territory any military or naval bases, nor erect any fortifications, nor organise any native military force except for local police purposes and for the defence of the territory.

It is understood, however, that the troops thus raised may, in the event of general war, be utilised to repel an attack or for defence of the territory outside that subject to the mandate.

4. The Mandatory:

(1) Shall provide for the eventual emancipation of all slaves, and for as speedy an elimination of domestic and other slavery as social conditions will allow;

(2) Shall suppress all forms of slave trade;

(3) Shall prohibit all forms of forced or compulsory labour, except for essential public works and services, and then only in return for adequate remuneration;

(4) Shall protect the natives from measures of fraud and force by the careful supervision of labour contracts and the recruiting of labour;

(5) Shall exercise a strict control over the trade in arms and ammunition and the sale of

spirituous liquors.

5. In the framing of laws relating to the holding or transference of land, the Mandatory shall take into consideration native laws and customs, and shall respect the rights and safeguard the interests of the native population.

No native land may be transferred, except between natives, without the previous consent of the public authorities, and no real rights over native land in favour of non-natives may be created except with the same consent.

The Mandatory shall promulgate strict regulations against usury.

Article 6. The Mandatory shall secure to all nationals of States members of the League of Nations the same rights as are enjoyed in the territory by his own nationals in respect of entry into and residence in the territory, the protection afforded to their person and property, movable and immovable, and the exercise of their profession or trade, subject only to the requirements of public order, and on condition of compliance with the local law.

Further, the Mandatory shall ensure to all nationals of States members of the League of Nations, on the same footing as his own nationals, freedom of transit and navigation, and complete economic, commercial and industrial equality; provided that the Mandatory shall be free to organise essential public works and services on such terms and condition as he thinks just.

Concessions for the development of the natural resources of the territory shall be granted by the Mandatory without distinction on grounds of nationality between the nationals of all States members of the League of Nations, but on such conditions as will maintain intact the authority of the local Government.

Concessions having the character of a general monopoly shall not be granted. This provision does not affect the right of the Mandatory to create monopolies of a purely fiscal character in the interest of the territory under mandate and in order to provide the territory with fiscal resources which seem best suited to the local requirements; or, in certain cases, to carry out the development of natural resources, either directly by the State or by a controlled agency, provided that there shall result there from no monopoly of the natural resources for~ the benefit of the Mandatory or his nationals, directly or indirectly, nor any preferential advantage which shall be inconsistent with the economic, commercial and industrial equality hereinbefore guaranteed.

The rights conferred by this Article extend equally to companies and associations organised in accordance with the law of any of the members of the League of Nations,

subject only to the requirements of public order, and on condition of compliance with the local law.

7. The Mandatory shall ensure in the territory complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship which are consonant with public order and morality; missionaries who are nationals of States members of the League of Nations shall be free to enter the territory and to travel and reside therein, to acquire and possess property, to erect religious buildings and to open schools throughout the territory; it being understood, however, that the Mandatory shall have the right to exercise such control as may be necessary for the maintenance of public order and good government, and to take all measures required for such control.

8. The Mandatory shall apply to the territory any general international Conventions applicable to his contiguous territory.

9. The Mandatory shall have full powers of administration and legislation in the area subject to the mandate. This area shall be administered in accordance with the laws of the Mandatory as an integral part of his territory and subject to the above provisions.

The Mandatory shall therefore be at liberty to apply his laws to the territory subject to the mandate, with such modifications as may be required by local conditions, and to constitute the territory into a customs, fiscal or administrative union or federation with the adjacent territories under his sovereignty or control; provided always that the measures adopted to that end do not infringe the provisions of this mandate.

10. The Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council. This report shall contain full information concerning the measures taken to apply the provisions of this mandate.

11. The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of the present mandate.

12. The Mandatory agrees that, if any dispute whatever should arise between the Mandatory and another member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The present instrument shall be deposited in original in the archives of the League of Nations. Certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all members of the League.

Done at London, the 20th day of July, 1922.

**APPENDIX 5**  
**UNITED NATIONS TRUSTEESHIP AGREEMENT**  
**(THE TRUSTEESHIP AGREEMENT FOR THE BRITISH CAMEROONS)**

Whereas the Territory known as Cameroons under British Mandate and hereinafter referred to as the Territory has been administered in accordance with Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations under a Mandate conferred on His Britannic Majesty; and Whereas Article 75 of the United Nations Charter signed at San Francisco on 26th June, 1945, provides for the establishment of an international trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements; and Whereas under Article 77 of the said Charter the international trusteeship system may be applied to territories now held under Mandate; and Whereas His Majesty has indicated his desire to place the Territory under the said international trusteeship system; and Whereas, in accordance with Articles 75 and 77 of the said Charter the placing of a territory under the international trusteeship system is to be effected by means of a Trusteeship Agreement; Now therefore the General Assembly of the United Nations hereby resolves to approve the following terms of trusteeship for the Territory.

**Article I**

The Territory to which this Agreement applies comprises that part of the Cameroons lying to the west of the boundary defined by the Franco-British Declaration of 10th July, 1919, and more exactly defined in the declaration made by the Governor of the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria and the Governor of the Cameroons under French Mandate which was confirmed by the exchange of notes between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the French Government of 9th January, 1931. This line may, however, be slightly modified by mutual agreement between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of the French Republic where an examination of the localities shows that it is desirable in the interests of the inhabitants.

**Article 2**

His Majesty is hereby designated as Administering Authority for the Territory, the



responsibility for the administration of which will be undertaken by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

### Article 3

The Administering Authority undertakes to administer the Territory in such a manner as to achieve the basic objectives of the international trusteeship system laid down in Article 76 of the United Nations Charter. The Administering Authority further undertakes to collaborate fully with the General Assembly of the United Nations and the Trusteeship Council in the discharge of all their functions as defined in Article 87 of the United Nations Charter, and to facilitate any periodic visits to the Territory which they may deem necessary, at times to be agreed upon with the Administering Authority.

### Article 4

The Administering Authority shall be responsible (a) for the peace, order, good government and defence of the Territory, and (b) for ensuring that it shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security.

### Article 5

For the above-mentioned purposes and for all purposes of this Agreement, as may be necessary, the Administering Authority:

- (a) shall have full powers of legislation, administration and jurisdiction in the Territory and shall administer it in accordance with his own laws as an integral part of his territory with such modification as may be required by local conditions and subject to the provisions of the United Nations Charter and of this Agreement;
- (b) shall be entitled to constitute the Territory into a custom, fiscal or administrative union or federation with adjacent territories under his sovereignty or control, and to establish common services between such territories and the Territory where such measures are not inconsistent with the basic objectives of the international trusteeship system and with the terms of this Agreement;
- (c) and shall be entitled to establish naval, military and air bases, to erect fortifications, to station and employ his own forces in the Territory and to take all such other measures as are in his opinion necessary for the defence of the Territory and for ensuring that it plays its part in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end the Administering Authority may make use of volunteer forces, facilities and assistance from

the Territory in carrying out the obligations towards the Security Council undertaken in this regard by the Administering Authority, as well as for local defence and the maintenance of law and order within the Territory.

#### Article 6

The Administering Authority shall promote the development of free political institutions suited to the Territory. To this end the Administering Authority shall assure to the inhabitants of the Territory a progressively increasing share in the administrative and other services of the Territory; shall develop the participation of the inhabitants of the Territory in advisory and legislative bodies and in the government of the Territory, both central and local, as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of the Territory and its people; and shall take all other appropriate measures with a view to the political advancement of the inhabitants of the Territory in accordance with Article 76 (b) of the United Nations Charter. In considering the measures to be taken under this Article the Administering Authority shall, in the interests of the inhabitants, have special regard to the provisions of Article 5 (a) of this Agreement.

#### Article 7

The Administering Authority undertakes to apply in the Territory the provisions of any international conventions and recommendations already existing or hereafter drawn up by the United Nations or by the specialised agencies referred to in Article 57 of the Charter, which may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of the Territory, and which would conduce to the achievement of the basic objectives of the international trusteeship system.

#### Article 8

In framing laws relating to the holding or transfer of land and natural resources, the Administering Authority shall take into consideration native laws and customs, and shall respect the rights and safeguard the interests, both present and future, of the native population. No native land or natural resources may be transferred except between natives, save with the previous consent of the competent public Authority. No real rights over native land or natural resources in favour of non-natives may be created except with the same consent.

## Article 9

Subject to the provisions of Article 10 of this Agreement, the Administering Authority shall take all necessary steps to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, industrial and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals and to this end:

- (a) shall ensure the same rights to all nationals of Members of the United Nations as to his own nationals in respect of entry into and residence in the Territory, freedom of transit and navigation, including freedom of transit and navigation by air, acquisition of property both movable and immovable, the protection of persons and property, and the exercise of professions and trades;
- (b) shall not discriminate on grounds of nationality against nationals of any Member of the United Nations in matters relating to the grant of concessions for the development of the natural resources of the Territory, and shall not grant concessions having the character of a general monopoly;
- (c) shall ensure equal treatment in the administration of justice to the nationals of all Members of the United Nations.

The rights conferred by this Article on nationals of Members of the United Nations apply equally to companies and associations controlled by such nationals and organised in accordance with the law of any Member of the United Nations.

## Article 10

Measures taken to give effect to Article 9 of this Agreement shall be subject always to the over-riding duty of the Administering Authority in accordance with Article 76 of the United Nations Charter to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Territory, to carry out the other basic objectives of the international trusteeship system, and to maintain peace, order and good government. The Administering Authority shall in particular be free:

- (a) to organise essential public services and works on such terms and conditions as he thinks just;
- (b) to create monopolies of a purely fiscal character in order to provide the Territory with the fiscal resources which seem best suited to local requirements, or otherwise to serve the interests of the inhabitants of the Territory;
- (c) where the interests of the economic advancement of the inhabitants of the Territory

may require it, to establish or permit to be established, for specific purposes, other monopolies or undertakings having in them an element of monopoly, under conditions of proper public control; provided that, in the selection of agencies to carry out the purposes of this paragraph, other than agencies controlled by the Government or those in which the Government participates, the Administering Authority shall not discriminate on grounds of nationality against Members of the United Nations or their nationals.

#### Article 11

Nothing in this Agreement shall entitle any Member of the United Nations to claim for itself or for its nationals, companies and associations, the benefits of Article g of this Agreement in any respect in which it does not give to the inhabitants, companies and associations of the Territory equality of treatment with the nationals companies and associations of the State which it treats most favourably.

#### Article 12

The Administering Authority shall, as may be appropriate to the circumstances of the Territory, continue and extend a general system of elementary education designed to abolish illiteracy and to facilitate the vocational and cultural advancement of the population, child and adult, and shall similarly provide such facilities as may prove desirable and practicable in the interests of the inhabitants for qualified students to receive secondary and higher education, including professional training.

#### Article 13

The Administering Authority shall ensure in the Territory complete freedom of conscience, and, so far as is consistent with the requirements of public order and morality, freedom of religious teaching and the free exercise of all forms of worship. Subject to the provisions of Article 8 of this Agreement and the local law, missionaries who are nationals of Members of the United Nations shall be free to enter the Territory and to travel and reside therein, to acquire and possess property, to erect religious buildings and to open schools and hospitals in the Territory. The provisions of this Article shall not, however, affect the right and duty of the Administering Authority to exercise such control as he may consider necessary for the maintenance of peace, order and good government and for the educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Territory, and to take all measures required for such control.

#### Article 14

Subject only to the requirements of public order, the Administering Authority shall guarantee to the inhabitants of the Territory freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, and of petition.

#### Article 1

The Administering Authority may arrange for the co-operation of the Territory in any regional advisory commission, regional technical organisation, or other voluntary association of States, any specialised international bodies, public or private, or other forms of international activity not inconsistent with the United Nations Charter.

#### Article 16

The Administering Authority shall make to the General Assembly of the United Nations an annual report on the basis of a questionnaire drawn up by the Trusteeship Council in accordance with Article 88 of the United Nations Charter. Such reports shall include information concerning the measures taken to give effect to suggestions and recommendations of the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council. The Administering Authority shall designate an accredited representative to be present at the sessions of the Trusteeship Council at which the reports of the Administering Authority with regard to the Territory are considered.

#### Article 17

Nothing in this Agreement shall affect the right of the Administering Authority to propose, at any future date, the amendment of this Agreement for the purpose of designating the whole or part of the Territory as a strategic area or for any other purpose not inconsistent with the basic objectives of the international trusteeship system.

#### Article 18

The terms of this Agreement shall not be altered or amended except as provided in Article 79 and Articles 83 or 85, as the case may be, of the United Nations Charter.

#### Article 19

If any dispute whatever should arise between the Administering Authority and another Member of the United Nations relating to the interpretation or application of the

provisions of this Agreement, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation or other means, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice provided for in Chapter XIV of the United Nations Charter.

### **THE TRUSTESHIP AGREEMENT FOR FRENCH CAMEROON.**

Whereas the territory known as the Cameroons Lying to the east of the line agreed upon in the Declaration signed on 10th July, 1919, has been under French administration in accordance with the mandate defined under the terms of the instrument of 20th July, 1922; and; Whereas, in accordance with Article g of that instrument, this part of the Cameroons has since then been "administered in accordance with the laws of the Mandatory as an integral part of his territory and subject to the provisions" of the mandate, and it is of importance, in the interests of the population the Cameroons, to pursue the administrative and political development of the territories in question, in such a way as to promote the political, economic and social advancement of the inhabitants in accordance with Article 76 of the Charter of the United Nations; and; Whereas France has indicated her desire to place under trusteeship in accordance with Articles 75 and 77 of the said Charter that part of the Cameroons which is at present administered by her; and; Whereas Article 85 of the said Charter provides that the terms of trusteeship are to be submitted for approval by the General Assembly; Now, therefore, the General Assembly of the United Nations approves the following terms of trusteeship for the said Territory.

#### **Article 1**

The Territory to which the present Trusteeship Agreement applies comprises that part of the Cameroons Lying to the east of the boundary defined by the Franco-British Declaration of 10th July, 1919.

#### **Article 2**

The French Government in its capacity of Administering Authority for this Territory under the terms of Article 81 of the Charter of the United Nations, undertakes to exercise therein the duties of trusteeship as defined in the said Charter, to promote the basic objectives of the trusteeship system laid down in Article 76 and to collaborate fully with the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council in the discharge of their functions as defined in Articles 87 and 88. Accordingly the French Government undertakes:

1 . To make to the General Assembly of the United Nations the annual report provided for in Article 88 of the Charter, on the basis of the questionnaire drawn up by the Trusteeship Council in accordance with the said Article, and to attach to that report such memoranda as may be required by the General Assembly or the Trusteeship Council. To include in that report information relating to the measures taken to give effect to the suggestions and recommendations of the General Assembly or of the Trusteeship Council. To appoint a representative and, where necessary, qualified experts to attend the meetings of the Trusteeship Council or of the General Assembly at which the said reports and memoranda will be examined.

2. To appoint a representative and, where necessary, qualified experts to participate, in consultation with the General Assembly or the Trusteeship Council, in the examination of petitions received by those bodies.

3. To facilitate such periodic visits to the Territory as the General

Assembly or the Trusteeship Council may decide to arrange, to decide jointly with these bodies the dates on which such visits shall take place, and also to agree jointly with them on all questions concerned with the organisation and accomplishment of these visits.

4. To render general assistance to the General Assembly or the Trusteeship Council in the application of these arrangements, and of such other arrangements as these bodies may take in accordance with the terms of the present Agreement.

The Administering Authority shall be responsible for the peace, order and good government of the Territory.

It shall also be responsible for the defence of the said Territory and ensure that it shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security.

#### Article 4

For the above-mentioned purposes and in order to fulfil its obligations under the Charter and the present Agreement, the Administering Authority:

Shall:

1. Have full powers of legislation, administration and jurisdiction in the Territory and shall administer it in accordance with French law as an integral part of the French territory, subject to the provisions of the Charter and of this Agreement.

2. Be entitled, in order to ensure better administration, with the consent of the territorial representative Assembly, to constitute this Territory into a customs, fiscal or

administrative union or federation with adjacent territories under its sovereignty or control and to establish common services between such territories and the Trust Territory, provided that such measures should promote the objectives of the international trusteeship system.

May:

1. Establish on the Territory military, naval or air bases, station national forces and raise volunteer contingents therein.
2. Within the limits laid down in the Charter, take all measures of organisation and defence appropriate for ensuring:
  - (a) the participation of the Territory in the maintenance of international peace and security.
  - (b) the respect for obligations concerning the assistance and facilities to be given by the Administering Authority to the Security Council,
  - (c) the respect for internal law and order,
  - (d) the defence of the Territory within the framework of the special agreements for the maintenance of international peace and security.

#### Article 5

The Administering Authority shall take measures to ensure to the local inhabitants a share in the administration of the Territory by the development of representative democratic bodies, and, in due course, to arrange appropriate consultations to enable the inhabitants freely to express an opinion on their political regime and ensure the attainment of the objectives prescribed in Article 76 (b) of the Charter.

#### Article 6

The Administering Authority undertakes to maintain the application to the Territory of the international agreements and conventions which are at present in force there, and to apply therein any conventions and recommendations made by the United Nations or the specialised agencies referred to in Article 57 of the Charter, the application of which would be in the interests of the population and consistent with the basic objectives of the trusteeship system and the terms of the present Agreement.

#### Article 7



In framing laws relating to the holding or transfer of land, the Administering Authority shall, in order to promote the economic and social progress of the native population, take into consideration local laws and customs.

No land belonging to a native or to a group of natives may be transferred, except between natives, save with the previous consent of the competent public authority, who shall respect the rights and safeguard the interests, both present and future, of the natives. No real rights over native land in favour of non-natives may be created except with the same consent.

## Article 8

Subject to the provisions of the following Article, the Administering Authority shall take all necessary steps to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, industrial and commercial matters for all States Members of the United Nations and their nationals and to this end:

1. Shall grant to all nationals of Members of the United Nations freedom of transit and navigation, including freedom of transit and navigation by air, and the protection of person and property, subject to the requirements of public order, and on condition of compliance with the local law.
2. Shall ensure the same rights to all nationals of Members of the United Nations as to his own nationals in respect of entry into and residence in the Territory, acquisition of property, both movable and immovable, and the exercise of professions and trades.
3. Shall not discriminate on grounds of nationality against nationals of any Member of the United Nations in matters relating to the grant of concessions for the development of the natural resources of the Territory, and shall not grant concessions having the character of a general monopoly.
4. Shall ensure equal treatment in the administration of justice to the nationals of all Members of the United Nations.

The rights conferred by this Article on the nationals of Members of the United Nations apply equally to companies and associations controlled by such nationals and formed in accordance with the law of any Member of the United Nations.

Nevertheless, pursuant to Article 76 of the Charter, such equal treatment shall be without prejudice to the attainment of the trusteeship objectives as prescribed in the said Article

76 and particularly in paragraph (b) of that Article.

Should special advantages of any kind be granted by a Power enjoying the equality of treatment referred to above to another Power, or to a territory whether self-governing or not, the same advantages shall automatically apply reciprocally to the Trust Territory and to its inhabitants, especially in the economic and commercial field.

## Article 9

Measures taken to give effect to the preceding article of this Agreement shall be subject to the overriding duty of the Administering Authority, in accordance with Article 76 of the Charter, to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Territory, to carry out the other basic objectives of the international trusteeship system and to maintain peace, order and good government. The Administering Authority shall in particular be free, with the consent of the territorial representative Assembly:

- I. To organise essential public services and works on such terms and such conditions as it thinks just.
2. To create monopolies of a purely fiscal character in the interest of the Territory and in order to provide the Territory with the fiscal resources which seem best suited to local requirements.
3. To establish or to permit to be established under conditions of proper public control, in conformity with Article 76, paragraph (d), of the Charter, such public enterprises or joint undertakings as appear to the Administering Authority to be in the interest of the economic advancement of the inhabitants of the Territory.

## Article 10

The Administering Authority shall ensure in the Territory complete freedom of thought and the free exercise of all forms of worship and of religious teaching which are consistent with public order and morality. Missionaries who are nationals of States Members of the United Nations shall be free to enter the Territory and to reside therein, to acquire and possess property, to erect religious buildings and to open schools and hospitals throughout the Territory.

The provisions of this Article shall not, however, affect the right and duty of the Administering Authority to exercise such control as may be necessary for the maintenance of public order and morality, and for the educational advancement of the inhabitants of

the Territory.

The Administering Authority shall continue to develop elementary, secondary and technical education for the benefit of both children and adults. To the full extent compatible with the interests of the population it shall afford to qualified students the opportunity of receiving higher general or professional education.

The Administering Authority shall guarantee to the inhabitants of the Territory freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly and of petition, subject only to the requirements of public order.

## Article II

Nothing in this Agreement shall affect the right of the Administering Authority to propose at any future date the designation of the whole or part of the Territory thus placed under its trusteeship as a strategic area in accordance with Articles 82 and 83 of the Charter.

## Article 12

The terms of the present Trusteeship Agreement shall not be altered or amended except as provided in Articles 79, 82, 83 and 85, as the case may be, of the Charter.

## Article 13

If any dispute whatever should arise between the Administering Authority and another Member of the United Nations, relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the present Trusteeship Agreement, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation or other means, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice provided for by Chapter XIV of the Charter of the United Nations.

## Article 14

The Administering Authority may enter, on behalf of the Territory, any consultative regional commission, technical organ or voluntary association of States which may be constituted. It may also collaborate, on behalf of the Territory, with international public or private institutions or participate in any form of international co-operation in accordance with the spirit of the Charter.

## Article 15

The present Agreement shall enter into force as soon as it has received the approval of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

## APPENDIX 6

### THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON.

#### PART I The Federal Republic of Cameroon

I. (I) With effect from the 1st October 1961, the Federal Republic of Cameroon shall be constituted from the territory of the Republic of Cameroon, hereafter to be styled East Cameroon, and the territory of the Southern Cameroons, formerly under British trusteeship, hereafter to be styled West Cameroon.

(2) The Federal Republic of Cameroon shall be democratic, secular and dedicated to social service;

it shall ensure the equality before the law of all its citizens;

and it proclaims its adherence to the fundamental freedoms written into the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations.

(3) The official languages of the Federal Republic of Cameroon shall be French and English.

(4) The motto shall be: "Peace, Work, Fatherland."

(5) The flag shall be of three equal vertical stripes of green, red and yellow, charged with two gold stars on the green stripe.

(6) The capital shall be Yaounde.

(7) The national anthem of the Federation shall be: "O Cameroon, cradle of our forefathers."

(8) The seal of the Federal Republic of Cameroon shall be a circular medallion in bas-relief, forty-six millimetres in diameter, bearing on the reverse and in the centre the head of a girl in profile turned to the dexter towards a coffee branch and flanked on the sinister by five cocoa pods, encircled beneath the upper edge by the words "Federal Republic of Cameroun" and above the lower edge by the national motto "Peace-- Work-- Fatherland."

(g) The subjects of the Federated States shall be citizens of the Federal Republic with Cameroonian Nationality.

2. ( I ) National sovereignty shall be vested in the people of Cameroon who shall exercise it either through the members returned by it to the Federal Assembly or by way of referendum;

nor may any section of the people or any individual arrogate to itself or to himself the exercise thereof.

(2) The vote shall be equal and secret, and every citizen aged twentyone years or over shall be entitled to it.

(3) The authorities responsible for the direction of the State shall hold their powers of the people by way of election by universal suffrage, direct or indirect.

3. (I) Political parties and groups may take part in elections; and within the limits laid down by law and regulation their formation and their activities shall be free.

(2) Such parties shall be bound to respect the principles of democracy and of the national sovereignty.

4. Federal authority shall be exercised by:

- (a) the President of the Federal Republic, and
- (b) The Federal National Assembly.

## PART II Federal Jurisdiction

5. The following subjects shall be of federal jurisdiction:

- (I) Nationality;
- (2) Status of Aliens;
- (3) Rules governing the conflict of Laws;
- (4) National Defence;
- (5) Foreign Affairs;
- (6) Internal and External Security of the Federal State, and Immigration and Emigration;
- (7) Planning, Guidance of the Economy, Statistical Services, Supervision and Regulation of Credit, Foreign Economic Relations, in particular Trade Agreements;
- (8) Currency, the Federal Budget, Taxation and other Revenue to meet federal expenditure;
- (9) Higher Education and Scientific Research;
- (10) Press and Broadcasting;
- (II) Foreign Technical and Financial Assistance;
- (12) Postal Services and Telecommunications;
- (13) Aviation and Meteorology, Mines and Geological Research; Geographical Survey;
- (14) Conditions of Service of Federal Civil Servants, Members of the Bench and Legal Officers;

- (15) Regulation as to procedure and otherwise of the Federal Court of Justice;
- (16) Border between the Federated States;
- (17) Regulation of Services dealing with the above subjects.

6. (1) The following subjects shall also be of federal jurisdiction:

- (a) Human Rights;
- (b) Law of Persons and of Property
- (c) Law of Civil and Commercial Obligations and Contracts;
- (d) Administration of Justice, including rules of Procedure in and Jurisdiction of all Courts (but not the Customary Courts of West Cameroon except for appeals from their decisions);
- (e) Criminal Law;
- (f) Means of Transport of federal concern (roads, railways, inland waterways, sea and air) and Ports;
- (g) Prison Administration;
- (h) Law of Public Property;
- (i) Labour Law;
- (1) Public Health;
- (k) Secondary and Technical Education;
- (I) Regulation of Territorial Administration;
- (m) Weights and Measures.

(2) The Federated States may continue to legislate on the subjects listed in this article, and to run the corresponding administrative services until the Federal National Assembly or the President of the Federal Republic in its or his field shall have determined to exercise the jurisdiction by this Article conferred.

(3) The executive or legislative authorities as the case may be of the Federated States shall cease to have jurisdiction over any such subject of which the Federal authorities shall have taken charge.

7. (I) Wherever under the last preceding Article the authorities of the Federated States shall have been temporarily enabled to deal with a federal subject, they may legislate on such subject only after consultation with the Federal Co-ordination Committee.

(2) The chairman of the said Committee shall be a Federal Minister, and the members shall be nominated by the President of the Federal Republic in view of their special

knowledge.

## **PART 111 The President of the Federal Republic**

8. (I) The President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, as head of the Federal State and head of the Federal Government, shall ensure respect for the Federal Constitution and the integrity of the Federation, and shall be responsible for the conduct of the affairs of the Federal Republic.

(2) He shall be assisted in his task by the Vice-President of the Federal Republic.

9. (I) The President and Vice-President of the Federal Republic

shall be elected together on the same list, both candidates on which may not come from the same Federated State, by universal suffrage and direct and secret ballot.

(2) Candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the Federal Republic must be in possession of their civic and political rights, and have attained the age of thirty-five years by the date of the election, the nomination of candidates, the supervision of elections and the proclamation of the result being regulated by a federal law.

(3) The offices of President and Vice President of the Republic may not be held together with any other office.

10. (I) The President of the Federal Republic shall be elected for five years and may be re-elected.

(2) Election shall be by majority of votes cast, and shall be held not less than twenty or more than fifty days before the expiry of the term of the President in office.

(3) In the event of vacancy of the Presidency for whatever cause the powers of the President of the Federal Republic shall without more devolve upon the Vice-President until election of a new President.

(4) Voting to elect a new President shall take place not less than twenty or more than fifty days after the vacancy.

(5) The President shall take oath in manner to be laid down by federal law.

II. (I) Ministers and Deputy Ministers shall be appointed by the President of the Federal Republic from each Federated State at his choice, to be responsible to him and liable to be dismissed by him.

(2) The office of Minister or Deputy Minister may not be held together with elective office in either Federated State, office as member of a body representing nationally any

occupation, or any public post or gainful activity.

12. The President of the Federal Republic shall--

- (1) represent the Federal Republic in all public activity and be head of the armed forces;
- (2) accredit ambassadors and envoys extraordinary to foreign powers;
- (3) receive letters of credence of ambassadors and envoys extraordinary from foreign powers;
- (4) negotiate agreements and treaties;

Provided that treaties dealing with the sphere reserved by Article 24 to the federal legislature shall be submitted before ratification for approval in the form of law by the Federal Assembly;

- (5) exercise the prerogative of clemency after consultation with the Federal Judicial Council;
- (6) confer the decorations of the Federal Republic;
- (7) promulgate federal laws as provided by Article 3 I ';
- (8) be responsible for the enforcement of federal laws and also of such laws as may be passed by a Federated State under the last paragraph of Article 6;
- (g) have the power to issue statutory rules and orders;
- (10) appoint to federal civil and military posts;
- (11) ensure the internal and external security of the Federal Republic;
- (12) set up, regulate and direct all administrative services necessary for the fulfilment of his task;

Provided that where he considers it advisable he may after consultation with the heads of the Governments of the Federated States assume authority over such of their services as exercise federal jurisdiction as defined by Article 5 or 6--

and may by Decree delegate any part of his functions to the Vice-President of the Federal Republic.

13. The Governments of the Federated States shall be bound, before adopting any measure which may impinge upon the Federation as a whole, to consult the President of the Federal Republic who shall refer the matter to the Committee provided by Article 7 for its opinion.

14. The President of the Federal Republic shall refer to the Federal Court of Justice under



Article 34 any federal law which he considers to be contrary to this Constitution, or any law passed by a Federated State which he considers to be in violation of the Constitution or of a federal law.

15. (I) The President of the Federal Republic may where circumstances require proclaim by Decree a State of Emergency, which will confer upon him such special powers as may be provided by federal law.

(2) In the event of grave peril threatening the nation's territorial integrity or its existence, independence or institutions, the President of the Federal Republic may after consultation with the Prime Ministers of the Federated States proclaim by Decree a State of Siege.

(3) He shall inform the nation by message of his decision.

(4) The Federal National Assembly shall without more be in session throughout the State of Siege.

#### PART IV The Federal Legislature

16. The Federal National Assembly shall be renewed every five years, and shall be composed of members elected by universal suffrage and direct and secret ballot in each Federated State in the proportion of one member to every eighty thousand of the population.

17. Federal laws shall be passed by simple majority of the members.

18. Before promulgating any bill the President of the Federal Republic may of his own accord or on request by the Prime Minister of either State request a second reading, at which the law may not be passed unless the majority required by the last preceding Article shall include a majority of the votes of the members from each Federated State.

19. (1) The Federal National Assembly shall meet twice a year, the duration of each session being limited to thirty days, and the opening date of each session being fixed by the Assembly's steering committee after consultation with the President of the Federal Republic.

(2) In the course of one such session the Assembly shall approve the Federal Budget: Provided that in the event of the Budget not being approved before the end of the current financial year the President of the Federal Republic shall have power to act according to the old Budget at the rate of one twelfth for each month until the new budget is approved.

(3) On request of the President of the Federal Republic or of two thirds of its membership the Assembly shall be recalled to an extraordinary session, limited to fifteen days, to consider a specific programme of business.

20. The Federal National Assembly shall adopt its own standing orders, and at the opening of the first session of each year shall elect its Speaker and steering committee.

The sittings of the Federal National Assembly shall be open to the public:

Provided that in exceptional circumstances and on the request of the Federal Government or of a majority of its members strangers may be excluded.

21. Federal elections shall be regulated by a federal law.

22. Parliamentary immunity, disqualification of candidates or of sitting members, and the allowances and privileges of members shall be governed by a federal law.

#### PART V Relations Between the Federal Executive and Legislature

23. Bills may be introduced either by the President of the Federal Republic or by any member of the Federal Assembly.

24. Of the subjects of federal jurisdiction under Articles 5 and 6 the following shall be reserved to the legislature: (I) the fundamental rights and duties of the citizen, including: (a) protection of the liberty of the subject. (b) human rights. (c) labour and trade union law. (d) duties and obligations of the citizens in face of the necessities of national defence.

(2) the law of persons and property, including: (a) nationality and personal status. (b) law of moveable and immoveable property. (c) law of civil and commercial obligations.

(3) the political, administrative and judicial system in respect of: (a) elections to the Federal Assembly.

(b) general regulation of national defence.

(c) the definition of criminal offenses not triable summarily and the authorisation of penalties of any kind, criminal procedure, civil procedure, execution procedure, amnesty, the creation of new classes of Courts.

(4) the following matters of finance and public property: (a) currency. (b) federal budget. (c) imposition, assessment and rate of all federal dues and taxes. (d) legislation on public property.

(5) long-term commitments to economic and social policy, together with the general aims of such policy. (6) The Educational System.

25. Bills laid on the table of the Assembly shall be considered in the appropriate committee before debate on the floor of the House.

26. The text laid before the House shall be that proposed by the President of the Federal Republic when the proposal comes from him.

and otherwise the text as amended in committee; but in either case amendments may be moved in the course of the debate.

27. The President of the Federal Republic may at his request address the Assembly in person, and may send messages to it; but no such address or message may be debated in his presence.

28. Federal Ministers and Deputy Ministers shall have access to the Assembly and may take part in debates.

29. (1) The programme of business in the Assembly shall be appointed by the chairmen's conference, composed of party leaders, chairmen of committees and members of the steering committee of the Federal National Assembly, together with a Federal Minister or Deputy Minister.

(2) The programme of business may not include bills beyond the jurisdiction of the Assembly as defined by Articles 5, 6 and 24; nor may any bill introduced by a member or any amendment be included which if passed would result in a burden on public funds or an increase in public charges without a corresponding reduction in other expenditure or the grant of equivalent new supply.

(3) Any doubt or dispute on the admissibility of a bill or amendment shall be referred for decision by the Speaker or by the President of the Federal Republic to the Federal Court of Justice.

(4) The programme of business shall give priority, and in the order decided by the Government, to bills introduced or accepted by it.

(5) Any business shall on request by the Government be treated as urgent.

30. (1) The Government shall be bound to furnish to the Federal National Assembly any explanation and information on its activities in reply to written or oral questions by the Assembly or to any Committee of Inquiry set up by the Assembly to inquire into governmental activities.

(2) The procedure of all such inquiry and supervision shall be laid down by a federal law.

31. (I) The President of the Federal Republic shall promulgate laws passed by the Federal National Assembly within fifteen days of their being forwarded to him, unless he receive a request for a second reading; and at the expiry of such period the Speaker may record his failure to promulgate and do so himself.

(2) Laws shall be published in both official languages of the Federal Republic.

#### PART VI The Judiciary

32. (I) Justice shall be administered in the Federation in the name of the people of Cameroon by the competent Courts of each State.

(2) The President of the Federal Republic shall ensure the independence of the judiciary, and shall appoint to the bench and to the legal service of the Federated States.

(3) He shall be assisted in his task by the Federal Judicial Council, which shall give him its opinion on all proposed appointments to the bench and shall have over members of the bench the powers of a Disciplinary Council; and which shall be regulated as to procedure and otherwise by a federal law.

33. (I) The Federal Court of Justice shall have jurisdiction--

(a) to decide conflicts of jurisdiction between the highest Courts of the Federated States;

(b) to give final judgment on such appeals as may be granted by federal law from the judgments of the superior Courts of the Federated States wherever the application of federal law is in issue;

(c) to decide complaints against administrative acts of the federal authorities, whether claiming damages or on grounds of ultra vires;

(d) to decide disputes between the Federated States, or between either of them and the Federal Republic.

(2) The composition of, the taking of cognizance by, and the procedure of the Federal Court of Justice shall be laid down by a federal law.

34. Where the Federal Court of Justice is called upon to give an opinion in the case

contemplated by articles 14 or 29, its numbers shall be doubled by the addition of personalities nominated for one year by the President of the Federal Republic in view of their special knowledge or experience.

35. Warrants, orders and judgments of any Court of Justice in either Federated State shall be enforceable throughout the Federation

#### PART V11 Impeachment

36. (I) There shall be a Federal Court of Impeachment which shall be regulated as to composition and taking of cognizance and in other respects by a federal law.

#### Cameroun

(2) The Federal Court of Impeachment shall have jurisdiction, in respect of acts performed in the exercise of their offices, to try the President of the Federal Republic for high treason, and the Vice-President of the Republic and Federal Ministers, and Prime Ministers and Secretaries of State of the Federated States for conspiracy against the security of the State.

#### PART V111 Federal Economic and Social Council

37. There shall be a Federal Economic and Social Council which shall be regulated as to powers and in other respects by a federal law.

#### PART 1X The Federated States

38. (I) Any subject not listed in Articles 5 and 6, and whose regulation is not specifically entrusted by this Constitution to a federal law shall be of the exclusive jurisdiction of the Federated States, which within those limits, may adopt their own Constitutions.

(2) The House of Chiefs of the Southern Cameroons shall be preserved.

39. (I) The Prime Minister of each Federated State shall be nominated by the President of the Federal Republic and invested by a simple majority of the Legislature Assembly of that State.

(2) Secretaries of State shall be appointed to the Government by the President on the proposal of the Prime Minister after his investiture.

(3) The Secretaries of State may in like manner be dismissed.

40. (I) Legislative power shall be exercised in the Federated States by a Legislative

Assembly, elected for five years by universal suffrage and direct and secret ballot in such manner as to ensure to each administrative unit representation in proportion to its population:

Provided that in West Cameroon the House of Chiefs may exercise specified legislative powers, to be defined, together with the manner of their exercise, by a law of the Federated State in conformity with this Constitution.

(2) There shall be one hundred representatives in the Legislative Assembly of East Cameroon, and thirty-seven representatives in the Legislative Assembly of West Cameroon.

(3) The electoral system, qualifications for candidates and disqualification of sitting members, parliamentary immunity and the allowances of representatives shall be regulated by a federal law.

41. (I) Each Legislative Assembly shall adopt its own standing orders and shall annually elect its steering committee.

(2) It shall meet twice a year, the duration for each session being limited to thirty days, on dates to be fixed by the steering committee after consultation with the Prime Minister of the Federated State, and so that the opening date of the budgetary session shall be later than the approval of the federal budget.

(3) On request of the Prime Minister, of the President of the Federal Republic or of two thirds of its membership, it shall be recalled to an extraordinary session limited to fifteen days, to consider a specific programme of business.

42. The sittings of each Legislative Assembly shall be open to the public:

Provided that in exceptional circumstances on the request of the Government or of a majority of its members strangers may be excluded.

43. Bills may be introduced either by the Government of each Federated State or by any representative in the Legislative Assembly, and shall be passed by a simple majority.

44. (I) A motion of no-confidence passed by a simple majority, or a vote of censure passed by an absolute majority shall oblige the Prime Minister to place his resignation in the hands of the President of the Federal Republic or be declared to have forfeited his office; and the President may then dissolve the Legislative Assembly.

(2) Persistent discord between the Government and the Legislative Assembly shall enable the President of the Federal Republic to dissolve the latter of his own accord or on the proposal of the Prime Minister

(3) New elections shall be held within two months of dissolution.

(4) Until investiture of a new Prime Minister the outgoing Government shall be responsible for the despatch of current business.

45. (I) The Speaker of each Federated State shall within twenty-one days forward bills passed to the President of the Federal Republic, who shall within a further fifteen days promulgate them.

(2) Within the said period the President of the Federal Republic may either request a second reading by the Legislative Assembly or act under Article 14.

(3) At the expiry of such period the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly in question may record the President's failure to promulgate and do so himself.

46. In so far as they do not conflict with the provisions of this Constitution the existing laws of the Federated States shall remain in force.

## PART X Amendment of the Constitution

47. (I) No bill to amend the Constitution may be introduced if it tend to impair the unity and integrity of the Federation.

(2) Bills to amend the Constitution may be introduced either by the President of the Federal Republic after consultation with the Prime Ministers of the Federated States, or by any member of the Federal Assembly:

Provided that any bill introduced by a member of the Assembly shall bear the signatures of at least one third of its membership.

(3) The amendment may be passed by a simple majority of the membership of the Federal Assembly:

Provided that such majority include a majority of the membership elected from each Federated State.

(4) The President of the Federal Republic may request a second reading of a bill to amend the Constitution as of any other federal bill, not in like manner.

## PART X1 Transition and Special

48. The jurisdiction defined in Article 5 shall pass without more to the federal authorities as soon as they are set up.
49. The Government of each Federated State shall forward to the Federal Government all papers and records necessary for the performance of its task, and shall place at the disposal of the Federal Government the services destined to exercise federal jurisdiction under the authority of the latter.
50. Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, the President of the Federal Republic shall have power, within the six months beginning from the 1st October 1961, to legislate by way of Ordinance having the force of law for the setting up of constitutional organs, and, pending their setting up, for governmental procedure and the carrying on of the federal government.
51. The President of the Republic of Cameroon shall be for the duration of his existing term the President of the Federal Republic.
52. For the duration of the term of the first President of the Federal Republic the Prime Minister of West Cameroon shall be Vice-President of the Federal Republic; and the disqualifications prescribed by Article g for the Vice-President of the Federal Republic shall during that period be inapplicable.
53. With effect from the 1st October, 1961 the National Assembly of the Republic of Cameroon and the House of Assembly of the Southern Cameroons shall become the first Legislative Assembly of East Cameroon and of West Cameroon respectively.
54. Until the 1st April, 1964 the Federal Assembly shall be composed of members elected from among themselves by the Legislative Assemblies of the Federated States according to the population of each State in the proportion of one member to every eighty thousand of the population.
55. Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 11, and until the election of a Federal Assembly under Article 16, the offices of Federal Minister and Deputy Minister may be held together with parliamentary office in either Federated States.



56. The Government of the Republic of Cameroon and the Government of the Southern Cameroons under British trusteeship respectively shall become on the 1st October, 1961 the Governments of the two Federated States.

57. Pending the setting up of the Federal Economic and Social Council, the Economic and Social Council of the Republic of Cameroon shall be preserved.

58. Pending approval of a definitive federal budget a provisional federal budget shall be drawn up and shall be financed by contributions from each Federated State to be settled after agreement with the Government of each such State.

59. This Constitution shall replace the Constitution of the Republic approved on the 21st February, 1960 by the people of Cameroon; shall come into force on the 1st October, 1961; and shall be published in its new form in French and in English, the French text being authentic.

60. (I) For the purposes of this Constitution the population of each Federated State shall on the faith of the statistics of the United Nations Organisation, be taken to be as follows:

East Cameroon	3.200.000
West Cameroon	800.000

(2) Such figures may be amended by a federal law in the light of significant variation established by census.

Yaounde, the 1st September, 1961                      Ahmadou Ahidjo

## APPENDIX 6

### INTERVIEW QUESTIONS TO CAMEROONIANS.

Name :

Address:

Aates and schools attended:

Mission, n.A., Or government:

Mode of sponsorship at school:

Relationship between those providing the school and the pupils as you saw it:

Relations between the school and the village:

Language of instruction:

Textbook in use a) for the school language.

b) For other subjects.

c) Background of the illustrations in the books.

Nature of examination at the end of each level:

Dates and places of teacher training:

What do you remember about your training in respect to :

a) What you had to teach;

b) Relevance to your culture;

b) Your objective or expectations for schooling.

Dates and places of work;

Relations with the school authorities:

Relations with inspectors and government authorities:

Relations with local authorities:

If a mission school, then state role played in church:

Girls education as you saw it in relation to that of boys:

What was the rate of drop-out?

What were the causes of drop-out?

What happened with disabled and less able children's education?

State three bitter and three happy experiences you had as a pupil or as a teacher that you will never forget.

If you were asked to make education more relevant to the pupils and society today, then what changes will you suggest?

## APPENDIX 7

### QUESTIONNAIRE TO COLONIAL OFFICERS WHO SERVED DURING THE PERIOD.

(Please use extra papers if they are needed.)

- 1.Names:
- 2.Address:
- 3.When were you appointed into the colonial service?
- 4.Name of the places where you worked (including dates):
- 5.Brief description of your work:
- 6.What were your first impressions of the different places where you worked?
- 7.Did the impressions change at the end of your work? Why?
- 8.Were you with your family? If yes, then state how the family influenced your attitude to your job.
- 9.Describe your official and private/social relationships with:
  - a) The traditional African leaders (chiefs):
  - b) The educated Africans:
  - c) The uneducated Africans:
  - d) Senior colonial authorities:
  - e) Junior colonial administrators:
  - f) People of the technical services:
- 10.Were you involved with education? If yes, then state your functions. If no then state what you noticed in colonial education as compared to your knowledge of education in Britain.
- 11.Did you think Africans were enthusiastic about education or they were coerced? What caused you to have that opinion?
- 12.Did you work or have any contacts with African school graduates? Did school graduates cope with their assignments when employed?
- 13.Did you ever take part in the formulation of policies (including education)?
- 14.Were there any Africans involved in the development of policies?
- 15.What were the problems of policy implementation?
- 16.Why did girls education lag behind that of boys?
- 17.Were there any provisions for education to the less able people?
- 18.What was the relationships between you and the christian missionary societies?
- 19.How enthusiastic did you find the different missionary societies in matters of

educational provision?

20. Were there rivalries between them?

21. Did you find the Native Authority schooling a useful venture?

22. Why do you think the British Government delegated education so much to the missions?

23. Were you personally satisfied with British contributions to colonial education? Why?

24. What do you think was the best contribution made by Britain to African education?

25. What do you remember to have been your most bitter experience during your service?

26. What do you remember to have been your happiest experience?

27. Any general comments on education in the colony (Cameroon and Nigeria) as you saw it.

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### **C) INTERVIEWEES AND RESPONDENTS:**

#### **Interviewees:**

- Ardener, S., Researcher and partner of Edwin Ardner (husband) founders of the national archive in Buea. Presently head of Queen Elizabeth's Research Centre at Oxford. Interviewed twice in February and March 1995.
- Chilver, E.M. Retired Oxford researcher and writer on Cameroon. Had several meetings with her in February, March, April and May 1995, on her findings and personal opinion on colonial and missionary education in Cameroon. Very resourceful and equipped with German, British colonial and missionary documents.
- Kajih J., Retired researcher and head of IPAR, Buea. Former student, teacher and head-tutor at Sasse College under the Mill Hill Mission in Cameroon. Interviewed in June 1992.
- Lima W.F., Retired Cameroon ambassador, formerly first African staff member of Sasse college (first Cameroon secondary school) when it was opened by the Mill Hill Mission in 1939. Proprietor of the first private bilingual (English and French) secondary school in Cameroon. Also son of Lima Gwankudvalla, a prominent Basel Mission teacher during the German period and the non-missionary period. Interviewed first at his resident in Yaounde in June 1993 and later in his compound in Bali in August 1993.
- Manley R., Retired British colonial Education Officer and teacher trainer in Cameroon and Nigeria from 1954 to 1964. Also officer responsible for the recruitment of British voluntary teachers for Cameroon in 1968. Interviewed in Oxford in March 1995.
- Memo Z.N., Retired Education Secretary of the Presbyterian Schools in Cameroon. A former pupil, teacher, teacher trainer and school administrator of the Basel Mission which handed over to the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon. Interviewed in August 1993 at his retirement home in Bamenda.
- Muna S.T. Retired politician; a minister in the Nigerian Government 1951-1953, a minister in Southern Cameroon Government 1954 -1961, a minister in the Federal Government of Cameroon 1961 -1968, Prime Minister of West Cameroon 1968 - 1970, Vice President

of Cameroon 1970 - 1972, President of the National House of Assembly 1972 - 1988; formerly a pupil of the first N. A. school in the Bamenda region (at Bali), the first Government school in Bamenda and the first teachers training centre in Kumba, Became a teacher, school administrator and teacher trainer with the Basel Mission until 1951.

Njike W.J., Retired soldier of the Second World War and member of the defunct KENU  
Interviewed in his house in Bali in May 1992.

Njinimbam S.N., Retired Manager of Presbyterian Schools in Cameroon. Formerly a pupil, teacher, teacher trainer, school administrator of the Basel Mission and later with the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon. Interviewed in his house in Bamenda in August 1993.

Samba M.M., Parliamentarian, retired teacher and school administrator of the French colonial administration and independent Cameroon Government. Formerly a pupil of the Yaounde Higher Primary School before the Second World War. Interviewed in August 1982 at Yaounde.

Tanyi., Retired Manager of Presbyterian Schools in Cameroon. Formerly a pupil, teacher, teacher trainer, school administrator of the Basel Mission and later with the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon. Interviewed in his retirement home in Bamenda in August 1993.

### **Respondents:**

Amey G.M., Retired teacher trainer, Kumba-Cameroon in 1949-1950, education administrator Nigeria 1950-1952, the P.E.O. for Cameroon from 1953 to 1960, and Adviser on Teacher Training in Lagos from 1960 to 1962. Worked in all parts of the British Cameroon. Responded to questionnaire from his resident at Suffolk in May 1995.

Harwood M. née Gentle., Retired secondary school administrator in Nigeria and Ghana. Promoted girls education in Cameroon by travelling there to recruit girls for Queens College Lagos in 1956 when she was principal of the college. Responded to questionnaire in June 1995 from Suffolk.

Hilton K.J., Retired colonial administrative officer in Cameroon, Nigeria and the Gold Coast from 1948 to 1960. Responded from his resident at South Devon in May 1995.

Milne N.H.M., Retired colonial administrator in Nigeria and Cameroon from 1939 to 1962. Then rural planning officer in Kenya from 1968 to 1981. Involved in the recruitment of Africans in the war service during the Second World War. Subsequently administrator and acting Commissioner of British Cameroon during the struggle for reunification. Rich reminiscences of the political and administrative evolution of the British Cameroon. Responded to questionnaire from his residence at Hants in May 1995.

Shaddock K.C., British colonial administrator in Nigeria and Cameroon, Economic secretary and secretary to Prime Minister J. N. Foncha during self-government. Special Duty Officer responsible for negotiation with French counterparts for the orderly running of those services that were formerly under the Nigerian Federal Government. Very knowledgeable about the transition from Trusteeship to independence in Cameroon.

**Snowsall R.E.E.**, Youth trainer in the British colonial service in Nigeria and Cameroon from 1940 to 1967. Principal of the Man O' War Bay Training Centre , Victoria, Cameroon from 1955 to 1961 when the centre moved to Kurra Falls in Jos-Nigeria and was renamed, the Citizenship and Leadership Training Centre. Responded to questionnaire from his residence at Somerset Tall.

**Treitel P. née Cook.**, Administrative officer under the British colonial rule. Worked in Nigeria and British Cameroon from 1954 to 1955. Responded to questionnaire in May 1995 from Oxford.

